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The History of the Johnson Papers

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THE story of the Johnson papers is unlike the story of the Boswell papers, which is a record of extraordinary self-preservation. It follows the opposite and more usual pattern of a famous man's papers, preserved by his contemporary admirers despite his own actions, for throughout his life Johnson was notoriously indifferent to the fate of his manuscripts, and in his last illness he burned "large masses" of them. He spared only a few, though his servant, Francis Barber, was able to rescue a few more from the flames. The only others known to remain were those which Johnson gave away before the conflagration, and the many letters which were in the possession of his correspondents. A thousand and forty-three letters was Birkbeck Hill's count in his edition of the correspondence; in R. W. Chapman's forthcoming edition the number approximates thirteen hundred.

The history of the surviving papers, who owned them first, and through what hands they passed, is filled with interest, for from the beginning Johnson manuscripts have been the subject of cupidity, curiosity and study. "It is wonderful," Boswell wrote Percy in 1788, "what avidity there still is for everything

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relative to Johnson." He referred in particular to Mrs. Piozzi. This close friend of Johnson had carefully preserved her letters from him for a period of twenty years, intending to publish them after his death. When this event occurred, however, she was in Italy on an extended wedding trip, and Johnson's correspondence was in a locked box in her London bank. She was not able to proceed with the project until she returned to England, and at that time discovered that she did not possess enough material herself to fill her second volume to the desired length. She was forced, therefore, to collect additional letters. Her eldest daughter, Queeney Thrale, had sufficient correspondence from Johnson to serve the purpose, but Queeney disapproved of her mother's venture and refused assistance. Queeney was the type of collector who, though withholding material, never destroys it, and her letters from Johnson were eventually published in 1932 by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had inherited her collection. Although Mrs. Piozzi was wholly unsuccessful with Queeney, she was more fortunate in her pursuit of other correspondents, her persistence being rewarded in the end with the publishing rights of Johnson's letters to Hill Boothby, Joseph Simpson, and Sastres.

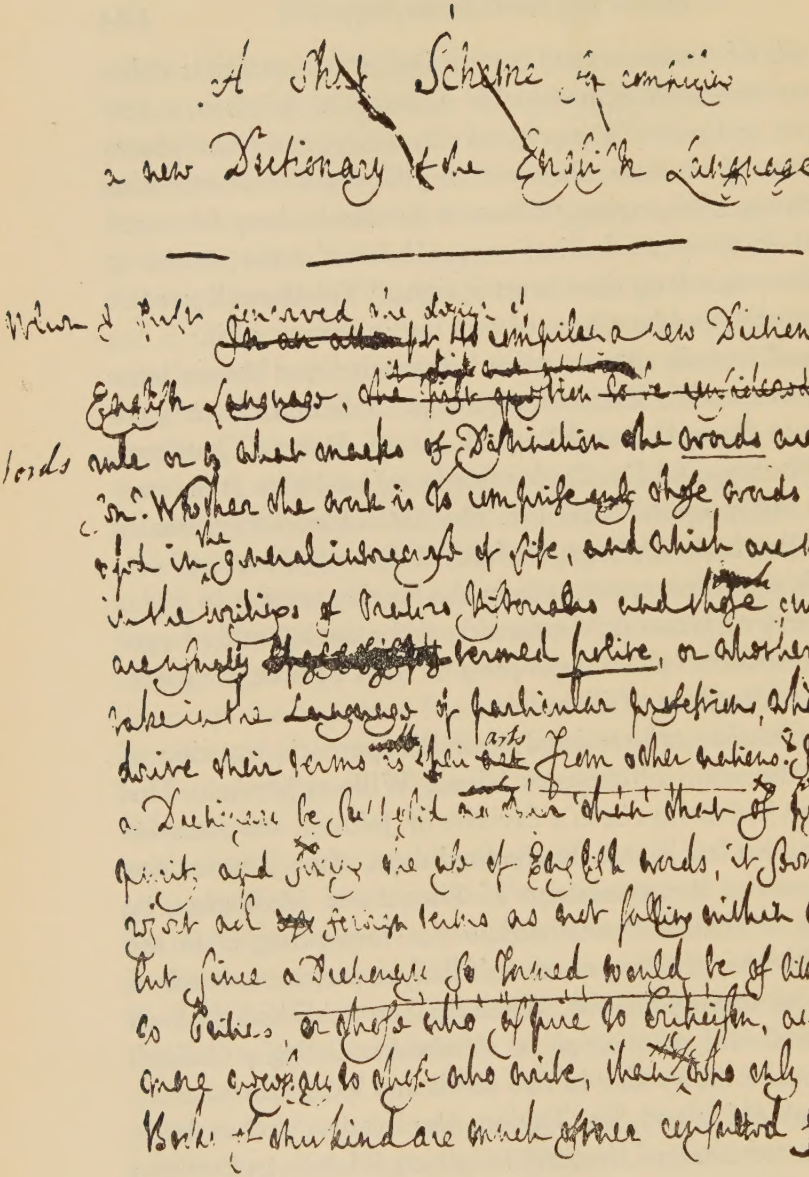
Boswell himself was casting a wide net at the same time, applying to some of Mrs. Piozzi's prospects and to many others. He had been engaged on his *Life of Johnson* for several years, and at the time of his subject's death was also at a disadvantage. Boswell was far from London, and had failed to secure from Johnson much material which he needed. Sir John Hawkins, as one of the literary executors, had carried off the papers which Johnson had spared from the fire, and was using them in the preparation of *his* biography of Johnson, an action wholly within his rights. Upon completion of this work, Hawkins was obliged to turn the manuscripts back to Francis Barber, Johnson's residuary legatee, but for the moment he was in the happy position of having the most important Johnson collection on loan.

Boswell, of course, owned certain important material: voluminous correspondence, invaluable notes about Johnson, a few transcripts, and part of the original manuscript and proof sheets of the *Lives of the Poets*, about which Johnson had written him on March 14, 1781, saying, "I have at last finished my *Lives* and have laid up for you a load of copy, all out of order, so that it will amuse you a long time to set it right." Yet Boswell needed more material, and he vigorously set out in pursuit of it.

As usual, certain owners were coöperative and others were wholly unresponsive. Bennet Langton and Edmund Hector gave liberally to Boswell, but Elizabeth Aston, Robert Chambers, George Strahan, and Dr. Taylor firmly refused him. It is interesting to follow up the latter list. The Aston letters were finally given to Pembroke College, Oxford. A few of Chambers' letters made their first appearance in the auction market in 1901, the property of General Macdonald; and a considerably larger group appeared in 1922, the property of Mrs. Flower, the great-great-granddaughter of Chambers.

George Strahan, who resisted Boswell's approach, was vicar of Islington, the son of Johnson's friend, William Strahan. This young man had always been a favorite of Johnson and attended him during his last illness. In the final days, when Johnson was too ill to revise the manuscript of *Prayers and Meditations*, he gave it to Strahan with instructions for committing it to the press, and with a promise, never fulfilled, to prepare a sketch of his life to accompany the text. When Strahan published the book he presented the manuscript to Pembroke College, Oxford, where it can be seen today in two cardboard letter file boxes.

Johnson's old friend, Dr. Taylor, who lived so well at Ashebourne, owned many of the sermons which Johnson had written for him and an important docket of a hundred and eight letters, according to Birkbeck Hill, although R. W. Chapman states it is a hundred and two. A large group of these letters which Taylor carefully preserved but determinedly withheld, are now ac-



Johnson's "Plan of the Dictionary," First Draft

Boswell Sale 1825 — Skegg Sale 1842 —
Pocock Sale 1875 — R. B. Adam — Hyde

cessible in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, purchased in 1945 from A. T. Loyd, after they had been through the hands of Lord Wantage, Lord Overstone, Sir John Simeon, and the Pierpont family.

To return to owners who were more obliging to Boswell; Edmund Hector, Johnson's schoolfellow, offered considerable help. He was one of the last people outside of London to see Johnson, for on the final trip from Lichfield to London, a month before his death, Johnson visited Hector in Birmingham, and discussed with him at length the early events of his life. Hector, besides having an intimate knowledge of Johnson over a long period of time, had important letters from him. He also had wide and valuable connections with other holders of manuscripts. It was, for instance, through Hector that Boswell was able to obtain his "little collection" of early poems written by Johnson when at school in Stourbridge.

Another responsive to Boswell's appeal was Bennet Langton, the worthy, learned friend of Johnson, some twenty-eight years his junior. Langton had a number of letters and several manuscripts which were given to him by Johnson a few days before he died. Of these, a manuscript catalogue of *Projected Works*, a *List of Designs*, and the original, unformed sketch of *Irene*, Langton presented to the King, who in turn gave the last to the British Museum. Langton sold Johnson's Latin poems to the booksellers for a small sum to benefit Johnson's relations, and through the booksellers these poems started their progress toward the auction market.

After Hawkins' death in 1789 Boswell came into possession of the bulk of the residue papers through their owner, Francis Barber, and late though it was, Boswell's exultation can be imagined. Barber for some reason withheld two items from both Hawkins and Boswell. One was the *Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, from his Birth to his Eleventh Year* which was printed in 1805 for Richard Phillips. The editor in the preface to the

little book said that "by purchase from Barber's widow" it came into his possession. The other was the journal of Johnson's *Welsh Tour*.

James Boswell Jr. had knowledge of both these manuscripts and wrote in angry comment to a friend:

> Dear Sir,
>
> I hope I shall be always considered in the number of those who are most anxious to show their veneration for the memory of Johnson, but I am sorry to say that I cannot think any one is entitled to much attention on that ground from being the son of Francis Barber who I think was an ungrateful scoundrel. You may recollect the manuscript of Johnson's early life most unfit for publication which he stole & which was afterwards sold to Sir Richard Phillips. We have lately had a tour in Wales which I believe him to have stolen also, out of which Mr. Duppa with the aid of Pattersons road book made an octavo volume. I should not wish to visit all this upon the son but he seems to me to tell a very lame story about his wandering from one trade to another. . . .

From the more important early locations, the story now follows the subsequent fate of Johnson's papers. In 1823 a few Johnson letters made their appearance in the auction sale of Mrs. Piozzi's library at Brynbella. Item 645 was:

> A few interesting ORIGINAL LETTERS, (some in French) in the handwriting of Dr. Johnson. Independent of their intrinsic worth—viewed as literary morceaus to illustrate his and Mrs. Piozzi's works, they are invaluable—as Autographs, impossible elsewhere to be procured—as acquisitions to Albums, desirable, and—after this period, in all probability never again obtainable—of so much importance indeed are they, that it will be a matter of national regret if these Johnsonian Relics are not purchased for the British or other public or private museum.

The indication of national pride in Johnson at this date is significant, as is the comment that a Johnson letter is eminently desirable for insertion in an autograph album. With the passing of Johnson's contemporaries, and the coming of another generation, this new trend in the collection of Johnson manuscripts as autographs began. Descendants of former owners were no longer troubled by prospective authors; they were harassed by autograph hunters.

Mrs. Piozzi's adopted son, Sir John Salusbury, wrote to a Miss Lloyd in Anglesey, that he could not resist her second attack upon his gallantry, for he knew that "when a lady sets her mind upon obtaining any object, she never rests till she succeeds." He, therefore, surrendered and wished to present her with "a note from the great Dr. Johnson." In return, Sir John, who fortunately shared the same interest, wondered if Miss Lloyd would send him an autograph of the Duke of Wellington, Melbourne, or Lord Byron, though "he would very much prefer [he said] a letter from Pitt, Fox, Canning, or from some celebrated author of bygone days, such as Cowper, Gray, Young—or even Sir Walter Scott."

For the many collectors who could not establish a personal contact as Miss Lloyd had done, there remained the chance of securing a Johnson autograph at auction, where Johnson letters appeared with increasing frequency throughout the nineteenth century. Johnson's popularity as a literary autograph accounts in some measure for the wide distribution of his letters today, and for the difficulty in establishing their location. Even if located, there is often a further difficulty of approach. More than one Johnson letter, kept in an album alongside letters of Wellington and Gladstone, is known to be considered by the family too personal a possession to admit inspection by an outsider.

The first important dispersal of Johnson manuscripts was the sale of the library of James Boswell Jr. in May 1825. Among the outstanding papers catalogued were: the *Plan of the Dictionary*, first draft, *Plan of the Dictionary*, second draft, the *Life of Pope*, the *Life of Rowe*, the *French Journal*, the *Diary for 1781 and 1783*, and a small paper book, *Repertorium*. All these items went to a single agent, Thorpe. Thorpe was a remarkably shrewd and active dealer, at one time commissioned by Sir Thomas Phillipps to search for manuscripts, later becoming the agent and librarian of William Henry Miller, founder of the Britwell Court library.

Of the items bought by Thorpe at the Boswell sale, the *French Journal* passed through the hands of the Earl of Guilford and of the poet, Samuel Rogers, whose great-nieces gave it to the British Museum. *Repertorium* appeared at Sotheby's again in 1904, and its recent course has been from Colonel Isham to Professor Tinker. The other manuscripts, the *Plan of the Dictionary,* first and second draft, the *Life of Rowe,* the *Life of Pope,* and the *Diary for 1781 and 1783* appeared together again in the important sale of Edward Skegg in June 1842.

Another buyer at the Boswell sale was William Upcott, who secured "Various Proof Sheets of Dr. Johnson's Lives of the Poets, corrected in his own hand-writing," and six of the prayers. Upcott, a natural son of Johnson's friend Ozias Humphry, was an outstanding nineteenth-century collector. He achieved marked success as a bookseller, and in 1806 was appointed assistant librarian of the London Institution. Here, in his office, and in the rooms of his house, every wall was covered with paintings, drawings, and prints. All his drawers and cupboards were crammed, and he had specially fitted shelves and a hundred receptacles into which he dropped a quantity of cuttings on various subjects. He boasted the ownership of thirty-two thousand letters.

At the Upcott sale in June 1846 his purchases from the Boswell library doubtless reappeared, though they are hard to particularize, for example, "seven hundred and fifty two letters of literary men including Johnson, in five volumes." There were also extra-illustrated copies of *The Life of Johnson* containing such material as a catalogue of the sale of books, Worcester, 1718, which was distributed by Johnson's father; a catalogue of the sale of Johnson's library; and several long letters of Boswell and Johnson. It would appear that grangerizing had become an outgrowth of the autograph album.

Throughout the fifties and sixties, Johnson letters were conspicuous in sales, though his manuscripts other than letters were

not frequently seen. Two exceptions to this were Johnson's prayer for September eighteenth 1784 in the George Linnacer auction in March 1850, an item which had passed from Boswell to Upcott previously, and the manuscript poem "The snow dissolv'd . . ." at Puttick and Simpson's on the second of May 1861.

There were also Johnson items in July 1864, at the sale of George Daniel, a topical writer of the day, a critic and chronicler of the theatre, and a book collector. His main collecting interest was in the drama, but he had sufficient enthusiasm for Johnson to write a reply to Macaulay's essay, and to own several fine manuscripts: the memorandum fragment dated Heale, 1783; Johnson's last prayer, December fifth 1784; and some of the proof-sheets of the *Lives of the Poets* with the author's corrections. The last two items had passed through the Boswell and Upcott sales; the prayer has recently gone from A. Edward Newton to Prof. Tinker; and the proof-sheets, presumably those Johnson sent to Boswell ill-assorted, are now partly in the Forster Collection of the South Kensington Museum, and partly in the British Museum.

There was an important Johnson manuscript auctioned in the last year of the sixties, in the John Dillon sale, June 1869. The catalogue title page bore the usual words, "A Collection of Autograph Letters, Manuscripts, and Historical Documents," and among these was Lot 574, Johnson's *Life of Pope,* which Thorpe had bought at the Boswell sale and Holloway at the Skegg sale. This time it was again purchased by Holloway, and in 1896 came to the Pierpont Morgan Library from the dealer Henry Sotheran.

The most important sale of Johnson material since the Boswell auction was held in May 1875, the collection of Lewis Pocock, art amateur and collector. Though Pocock's interest was primarily in art, he had formed an extensive enough collection of Johnsoniana to warrant a separate catalogue containing five hundred and eighty-six items. There were many Johnson letters

in this sale, including the famous retort to Macpherson, which Pocock had bought at the George Linnacer sale in 1850. These familiar manuscripts appeared together once more: the *Plan of the Dictionary,* draft one and two; the *Life of Rowe;* and the *Diary for 1781 and 1783,* all of which had been bought by Pocock at the Skegg sale. They now went to the dealer, Harvey, who sold the *Diary for 1781 and 1783* to Locker-Lampson, from whom it passed to W. K. Bixby of St. Louis, and from thence to the Huntington Library. The other manuscripts were sold to R. B. Adam of Buffalo.

Adam purchased additional lots at the Pocock sale: Johnson's *Considerations on Corn, Note on Mr. Poore to the Club, Diary Record for the 8, 9, 10 June, 1784,* and the poem to Miss Hickman playing on the spinet. From the Pocock source alone, this collector laid a firm foundation for his Johnsonian library, many of the items stemming back to Boswell.

In the next important auction, the Ross sale at Christie's in June 1888, not so much came to Adam. Considerably more items were bought by the dealer Pearson and sold to the Pierpont Morgan Library, and more as well were bought for the great autograph collector, Alfred Morrison. Morrison's purchases included several early letters to Cave, and the important letter to Goldsmith, both of which R. B. Adam II was able to buy at Morrison's sale in 1918. Sometimes, but not often, there is a second chance.

In the eighties and nineties new trends in collecting were apparent. The concentration upon Johnson as a single figure was noticeable in the Pocock and Ross sales and in such libraries as that being gathered by R. B. Adam. There was also noticeable, among such collectors, an increased interest in the study of the subject collected, a search beyond acquisition itself. Collectors sought the aid of scholars, and scholars in turn became collectors.

The influence in the nineties of the great Johnsonian scholar, George Birkbeck Hill, over dealers and collectors was profound.

Auction catalogues of that period frequently recorded "ALS of Samuel Johnson, accompanied by a note of George Birkbeck Hill." In this connection there is an amusing instance to prove the great are not infallible. In the George Manners' sale in November 1890, Item 209 was one of the few letters of Johnson to Mrs. Thrale which up to this time had come to auction. In the catalogue Hill records, "I have seen only three or four at most of Johnson's letters to Mrs. Thrale, perhaps all of them have been destroyed." Hill was still alive in 1901 when these letters began to stream into the market from the descendants of Sir John Salusbury, Mrs. Piozzi's adopted son. As the Salusbury family became progressively impoverished, they disposed of more and more letters, culminating in the spectacular sale of January 1918, which offered "a magnificent series of over two hundred letters from Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Thrale." The owner then was the great-granddaughter of John Salusbury, Mrs. Colman, the same person who sold to the Rylands Library in the nineteen thirties the final, large and breathtaking residue of the Thrale collection.

When R. B. Adam died in 1904, his nephew and adopted son inherited the library, and what is perhaps more remarkable, his uncle's love for it. R. B. Adam II continued collecting in the same manner, but even more extensively. He increased and strengthened the friendly association with other Johnsonian collectors, and with outstanding eighteenth-century scholars, whom he treated with such graciousness that some wrote to him, not about "your" collection but "our" collection. He added greatly to his Johnson material—not many manuscripts, but a vast number of letters. When Birkbeck Hill saw the Adam Collection in 1893 it had only ten letters from Johnson and Boswell combined; by 1921 the number of Johnson letters alone was more than a hundred; and by 1929 more than two hundred and thirty. There were many unpublished letters of importance, notably several to Mrs. Thrale from the Salusbury sales, and the long series to

Chambers which had been denied to Boswell many years before.

A great friend and rival of Adam in the Johnson field was A. Edward Newton of Philadelphia, a man of engaging personality who collected Johnson and advertised him with what is sometimes called fanaticism. His collection was not so large as Adam's, but it was choice. His collecting was a matter of personal excitement about which he was delightfully articulate, and accounts of his adventures served to spread his enthusiasm a great distance.

To imply that R. B. Adam and A. Edward Newton had a free field for their collecting of Johnson would be untrue, because in the twenties the whole field of the eighteenth century, both in England and America, was discovered belatedly and with violence. Many bookshops specialized in it, such as Elkin Mathews, where, it has been said, the eighteenth century was the sole reality. Catalogues were brought out by this firm which were easy and provocative reading and productive of remarkable interest. This shop and others reflected the increasing influence of dealers, many of whom were well versed in the century, and able to act as shrewd and knowledgeable mentors for the collector.

In the twenties the circle of Johnsonians widened and collectors showed a deepening interest in the study of their material. In several libraries the three-part ideal established by the period reached fulfillment, that of acquisition, research, and publication. The activity of scholars in the Johnson field was marked: Nichol Smith, R. W. Chapman, S. C. Roberts, L. F. Powell, A. L. Reade, Charles G. Osgood, and—as has often been pointed out, sometimes in the most extraordinary places—there is a close affiliation between the Age of Johnson and the Age of Tinker.

In the thirties and early forties there was a reaction to the overwhelming popularity which the eighteenth century had enjoyed in the twenties, the cause mainly economic, though in part a matter of taste. The important sale of A. Edward Newton's

library came during this time. Beginning in April 1941, his collection was sold, according to his wish, as expressed by de Goncourt, that his library be dispersed under the hammer of an auctioneer, so that each item which had given him pleasure to acquire, could be given again to some inheritor of his taste.

At the Newton sale the Johnson manuscripts and letters were widely dispersed. A few items, including Johnson's *Considerations on Trapp's Sermons* and his efforts in behalf of William Dodd, were bought by the Donald Hydes, and with these purchases their activity began. Their library, which is devoted to Johnson, has had much added through the forties from other auctions, and from the stock of patient and helpful book dealers in America and England. The extensive Johnson manuscripts and letters have been added from both Malahide Castle and Fettercairn House, much of the material Boswell had from Hawkins which did not appear in the Boswell sale. The latest addition has been the R. B. Adam Collection.

The remainder of the history, the present location of other manuscripts, has been indicated at many points. A few are not traced. The *Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, from his Birth to his Eleventh Year*, the curious manuscript offered to public view by its editor in 1805, has disappeared, though it would be foolhardy to say that it has been destroyed. Johnson's *List of Designs* and *Projected Works* given to Langton, and by him to the King, are no longer located. The diary fragment for 1783 and *Rules for School* are also elusive. The most obvious and celebrated blank is that of Johnson's correspondence with Boswell, increasingly strange in the light of present discoveries. Only three letters are at present known to survive: the letter from Johnson to Boswell, in an album owned by Lord Clinton of Fettercairn House; the Ashebourne fragment at Yale University; and the fragment sold by R. W. Chapman in 1944. All these manuscripts have once been seen but are at the moment obscured from view. That they may be seen again is a hope inspiring vigilance.

Some of Johnson's papers have met with violence. Many were burned in his conflagration. And the rumor persists in Wales, among the descendants of Dr. Pearson, Lucy Porter's heir, that the manuscript of the *Dictionary* was used to cover jelly jars in a Lichfield attic, the portion of it surviving this treatment later being eaten by rats. A more unusual case is the Latin prose exercise of Johnson, eaten by a baby, a tragedy prompting an eminent British Johnsonian to write that this was added testimony to the danger of such things going to America.

The four perils noted by Agard, the archivist: fire, water, rats, and misplacing, have continued to exact their toll. But despite these casualties, the remarkable conclusion of the story is the known preservation of so much of the material which survived at the time of Johnson's death. It is now widespread in important collections: in England, the British Museum, the South Kensington Museum, the Rylands Library, the Bodleian, Pembroke and Trinity Colleges, Oxford, Lord Rothschild and the Marquis of Lansdowne; in this country, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the New York Public Library, Yale University, the Huntington Library, Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., Prof. Tinker, Herman W. Liebert, and the Hyde Collection.

There is still as much avidity for everything relative to Johnson as when Boswell remarked it. Johnson, if he knew, or knows, could not fail to be touched by the interest, amused, perhaps outraged, by the splitting of hairs, nevertheless, exhilarated by his defeat of oblivion.

Washington's Manuscript Diaries of 1795 and 1798

By Roland Baughman*

PERHAPS no more factual or circumstantial record exists anywhere than the careful, sober, usually impersonal and seldom introspective notations that are to be found in the diaries of George Washington. Indeed, the commonplaces of Washington's routine daily life, after he reached manhood, are exceptionally well documented and constitute a basic resource that is open to all historians and biographers. This fortunate circumstance stems in the first place from Washington's early-formed and steadfastly-sustained habit of keeping regular day-by-day accounts of his movements and occupations, and in the second place from the eagerness and tenacity with which collectors have searched out and preserved every possible scrap of his writing. Finally, we are indebted to John C. Fitzpatrick who, working under the sponsorship of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, edited in a single four-volume series[1] all of the diaries that are now known to have survived the 150 to 200 years that have elapsed since they were written. That series includes not only Washington's private daily journals but also the records he kept in diary form of various travels and special assignments—such as his account of a surveying expedition over the Blue Ridge Mountains with George William Fairfax in 1748; his trip to Barbadoes with his brother Lawrence in 1751-52; the reports of two official commissions in 1753-54

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[1] *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick* . . . Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1925 (4 vols.).

(now known only in the contemporary published versions); and many other such specific accounts.

At the beginning of his edition Fitzpatrick lists fifty-seven Washington diaries which are now in existence or which he presumes may reasonably be supposed to have existed in the past. These he identifies by serial numbers. The numbers represent actual physical units—volumes—and do not necessarily correspond with calendar years, because sometimes Washington required more than a single notebook for a year's entries. In addition to the numbered volumes Fitzpatrick also lists fragmentary items, such as the leaves containing the entries for January 22-February 9, 1799, now in the Dreer Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (the principal part of the 1799 diary is in the Library of Congress).

Of the fifty-seven volumes, some forty are known today. Thirty-six are in the Library of Congress, having been purchased by the United States Government with other Washington papers in 1834 and 1849. One diary (the Joy Manuscript), embracing the period from October 1, 1789, to March 10, 1790, is in the Detroit Public Library. Another, that for the year 1797, was formerly in the private collection of the late Mr. John Gribbel of Wyncote, Pennsylvania, but was acquired in 1947 as a permanent part of the Washington memorial at Mount Vernon. The two remaining diaries, those for 1795 and 1798, the former representing Washington's last year but one as President of the United States, and the latter his last year but one of mortal life, became on January 9, 1951, the treasured possessions of Columbia University. They were presented by their former owner, Mr. Charles Moran, Jr., a Columbia alumnus, by whose family they had been preserved and passed on from generation to generation since 1827, when they had been given to Mr. Moran's maternal ancestors, Robert and Margaret Adams of Philadelphia, by Judge Bushrod Washington. Bushrod was George Washington's nephew and literary executor, and he seems to have been rather

generous in the matter of giving away his uncle's later diaries to close friends. There is at least one other known instance of this generosity. He gave the Gribbel volume—now at Mount Vernon—to one C. Hughes[2] in 1825. If this indicates a common tendency on his part, there is some hope that the diary for 1796, now listed as missing, may turn up in some private collection or among hitherto unexamined archives in some research library.

The earlier of the Columbia diaries is contained in a pocket-size almanac, *The American Repository of Useful Information,* published in Philadelphia by B. Davies in 1795. Washington's entries are written on blank interleaves provided for that purpose by the publisher. Each interleaf has at its head an engraved vignette by either James Smither or E. Trenchard, who collaborated in decorating the publication.[3] The vignettes contain suitable subjects for the months they represent—January has a plowing scene, March shows a busy beehive amid new greenery, August shows the harvesting of hay, and so forth. Facing these pages are the usual printed calendars in columnar form for the relevant months, complete with moon phases, sunrise and sunset times, holy days, and the like. The interleaves interest us most of course, for here is where Washington set down his summaries of the principal events of each month; but in addition many of the printed calendar pages bear manuscript marginal notations, usually mere symbols and initials, written opposite certain dates. These are surely mnemonic aids of some sort, but there does not seem to be any traceable connection between them and the fuller notes for the same dates given elsewhere.

The diary proper begins with the entry for April 14th, wherein Washington recorded that he had left Philadelphia to return to Mount Vernon; and thereafter the account is continued with fair regularity through December 24th. The month of Novem-

[2] Possibly Christopher Hughes, close friend of Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams, and prominent in American diplomatic service from 1814 to 1845.

[3] These examples of the artistic productions of Smither and Trenchard are not recorded by either Stauffer or Mantle.

ber, however, is not covered in detail. In this instance, after routine weather notes for the first four days, Washington concludes with the comment: "The whole month of November has been remarkable pleasant—The ground has never been froze—but few white frosts, and no snow." From this and other evidence it seems clear that the diaries do not represent an actual day-by-day account, but that the entries were compiled later and possibly all at one time from notes made currently.

From July through October Washington held to a practice that was apparently not followed in any of his other diaries. In addition to the regularly-entered weather data, with which the diary is principally concerned, he itemized separately the records of various travels that he had made. For example, special entries for July 15th to the 20th particularize his journey to Mount Vernon from the national Capitol in Philadelphia. Similarly, the period from August 6th to the 11th has special entries for the trip back to Philadelphia, and under September 8th to the 13th there is a record of his return again to his estates, with additional notes of a short visit to Alexandria on the 25th and 26th. These added items usually occur on the blank interleaves after the regular entries, but in October, when from the 12th through the 20th Washington again made a journey to the Capitol, the notes are set down opposite the relevant dates in the printed calendar.

All in all, the 1795 volume contains twelve pages of entries, plus the occasional symbols on the calendar portion—although these are sometimes more than symbols, as for example the note opposite Wednesday, November 18th, which reads, rather mystifyingly, "Katy turned away."

The other Columbia diary is much more voluminous. It is contained in *Briggs's Virginia & Maryland Almanac; or Washington Ephemeris: for . . . 1798*, published at Alexandria by the bookseller, J. V. Thomas. This almanac, too, is interleaved with blanks which contain Washington's notes. In this instance, however, the paper of the interleaves differs from that in the printed

part of the almanac, and therefore in all probability the interleaves were not provided as a part of the original publication, as in the case of the 1795 diary, but were inserted by Washington himself, either before or after they had been annotated. There are twenty-four of these interleaves, comprising forty-eight pages, forty-five of which contain Washington's closely written notes. The printed calendar pages also contain his symbols and checks as in the 1795 diary, but in this volume they are amplified by a consistent use of given names—"Judy," "Sally," "Dorsy," "Esther," and the like.

The daily notes are quite full and reveal a definite pattern. With few exceptions the first part of each is devoted to the weather, followed by the principal news of the day. For example, on February 12th we read: "Clear—Mer at 35—and Wind at No Wt. in the Morning. Little or none afterwards—& at Night lowering—Went with the family to a Ball in Alexa. given by the Citizens of it & its vicinity in commemoration of the anniversary of my birthday." (As Fitzgerald explains, in Alexandria the "old-style" calendar was still in use in 1798; thus the citizens of that locality celebrated Washington's birthday some ten days ahead of the rest of the nation.) And again on July 4th: "Morning clear—breeze from the No. but light—Mer 78. 80 at Night. —Went up to the Celebration of the Anniversary of Independence and dined in the Spring Gardens near Alexa. with a large Compa. of the Civil & Military of Fairfax County." The keeping of weather data was apparently a responsibility that was keenly felt by Washington, and where they are lacking there is usually a careful explanation. For instance, after the entry for August 20th Washington wrote: "No acct. kept of the weather &ca. from hence to the end of the month—on acct. of my sickness which commenced with a fever on the 19th & lasted until the 24th. which left me debilitated.—On the 28th. there was a very refreshing Rain but not sufft. to go to the Roots of Indian Corn which was suffering very much for want of it."

From such specimen readings it will be gathered that the diaries probably do not contain much new information calculated to set at sixes and sevens the established conclusions of historians. In the main the entries are concerned with commonplace matters, and at first glance we see only workaday preoccupations of a man of affairs. But when we look more sharply we can glimpse side-lights of the extremely busy life Washington led during his later years. We catch momentary flashes of the personages who came and went at Mount Vernon, and of the official nature of even his private life. For this was the period in which friction with France had reached such a degree that Washington had been appointed commander-in-chief of a provisional army, against the possibility that open land war might break out at any time. Fortunately matters never reached that pass, but the diary reveals something of the turmoil which the crisis stirred up. From November 10th to December 14th, for example, Washington visited the Capitol, and the diary records a steady round of conferences and dinners with officialdom—"Dined at the Secrety of the Treay," "Dined at the Secretary of Wars—Violent Snow storm from No Et.," "Dined at Majr Reeds—Senator's" (Jacob Read of South Carolina), "Ditto at the Secretary of States," "Dined at the President of the U: States," "Do with the British Minister," and so on and on.

Despite the fact that at the time of his researches the 1795 and 1798 diaries were not available to Fitzpatrick, who worked instead from transcripts that had been made in the early 1890's by Dr. Joseph Toner, close collation reveals little to add or change in the published version. The only considerable body of material not hitherto available is the weather data, which Fitzpatrick excluded in the interests of space saving and because it seemed to contain scant value for the historian—a decision which, perhaps, might be disputed.[4]

[4] The transcription of the 1795 diary, however, does include weather data—due, possibly, to the meagerness of the other entries.

All in all, Toner's rendering is remarkably faithful, although a few inaccuracies seem to have crept in, and these of course were inherited by the published version.[5]

An impression is left by Fitzpatrick that the first and last portions of the 1795 diary, which are not present in the Columbia volume, may once have existed and are now lost. This impression is strengthened by the fact that he assigns serial numbers (51 and 53) to the supposedly missing parts. But close study of the Columbia volume (that is, Fitzpatrick's number 52), which covers the period from April 14 to December 24,[6] encourages a strong feeling that Washington simply did not begin his 1795 record until the middle of April, and closed it on Christmas Eve. That presumption is supported by the fact that the calendar portion of the booklet contains throughout the mnemonic symbols referred to earlier, indicating that the volume had been in continuous use from the first of the year to the end, and not just during the period covered by the more extensive comments.

Fitzpatrick's assignment of serial numbers to individual volumes, whether known or presumed to have existed, is useful to the student who is interested in the entire probable extent of Washington's daily accounts. On the other hand, it is sometimes misleading. The present lack of seventeen[7] of the presumed fifty-seven diaries, for example, does not indicate nearly as serious a gap as might be supposed at first glance, since certain years are contained, or are supposed to have been contained, in more than one volume, and other years are represented by at least partial accounts. Actually, from 1760 onward the record is surprisingly complete. From that date through 1775 there is only one year, 1762, that is not covered in some degree. It is true that the years

[5] For example, the 1795 diary is wrongly listed as having been presented by Bushrod Washington to Robert Adams, and the 1798 diary to Margaret Adams. Actually Bushrod Washington inscribed the 1798 diary to Robert Adams and the 1795 one to Margaret.

[6] Wrongly read by Toner as December 21.

[7] Two of which are accounted for above.

of the Revolution, 1776 through 1784, are missing from the series, except for the brief periods of the New York and Yorktown campaigns of 1781 and Washington's journey to western Pennsylvania and Virginia in 1784. But from 1785 through 1789 the series is complete; 1790 and 1791 are partly covered; 1792 and 1793 are entirely missing; 1794 is represented only by the account of the Whiskey Insurrection; 1795 is complete (though we have noted Fitzpatrick did not think so, and assigned three serial numbers to that year, including two for parts he presumed to be missing); 1796 is lacking; but the period from 1797 to Washington's death in 1799 is fully covered. To recapitulate: the only extensive period not now known to be covered is that of the Revolution; and it seems reasonable to assume that no diaries were kept for that troubled time. As for the isolated gaps (1762, 1792, 1793, and 1796), it is perhaps not too much to hope that they may some day turn up—or may be, in fact, even now in some unknown private collection.

There is more than mere wishful thinking in that last remark. A large proportion of Washington's diaries were written in interleaved almanacs such as those described above, and which were commonly so used in his day.[8] For the most part Washington seems to have used the *Virginia Almanac* for his diaries (14 instances), but in 1795 and 1797 he used the *American Repository*, and in 1798 *Briggs's Virginia & Maryland Almanac*. If, therefore, an exhaustive search for the missing 1762 diary were to be undertaken, the procedure with the greatest prospect of success, it would seem, would involve a careful scrutiny of all known copies of the *Virginia Almanac* for that year. Similarly, the diaries for 1792, 1793, and 1796 may yet be discovered in some unexplored file of the *American Repository*.

[8] Just recently there came to my desk a packet of old pamphlets, among which was an interleaved copy of Nathaniel Ames' *Astronomical Diary for 1741*, containing on the interleaves the manuscript daily record for that year as set down by John Hancock, the father of the Signer.

Charles Chauncy and the Great Awakening: a Survey and Bibliography

By Edwin S. Gaustad*

DESPITE several bold and honorable efforts to define and delimit a "Bibliotheca Chaunciana,"[1] there remain many tangled skeins in the literary remains of Charles Chauncy (1705-1787), the prominent and productive minister of Boston's First (Old Brick) Church. The present article will indicate these problems in his writings published between 1741 and 1745, and essay some unravelling.

During the years of New England's great revival, much heat was generated by the friction between the two conflicting parties, Old and New Lights. As itineracy, "rash judging" and "a censorious spirit" became more pervasive, opposition to the religious upheaval became more pronounced and outspoken. Charles Chauncy was recognized then as now as first among the "Op-

* I wish to acknowledge the kindness and aid of Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth, Miss Jeannette Black and Miss Marion Adams of the John Carter Brown library staff; of Mr. Stephen Riley of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and of Professor Edmund S. Morgan of Brown University.

[1] In 1884, Paul Leicester Ford privately printed at Brooklyn his *Bibliotheca Chaunciana*. Herein Ford noted that there had been three previous attempts to compile a list of Chauncy's published works: John Clarke (Chauncy's colleague minister) in the appendix to *A Discourse Delivered at the First Church in Boston February 15, 1787. At the Interment of the Rev. Charles Chauncy* . . . (Boston, Griffith and Powars, 1787); William Chauncey Fowler, "Memorials of the Chaunceys" (in: *New England Historical & Genealogical Register*, X: 326), simply a reproduction of Clarke's list; and Joseph Sabin in his *Bibliotheca Americana*. Since Ford's day, there have been three other compilations: Charles Evans, *American Bibliography;* Henry Martyn Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1880); and Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* . . . , VI: 461-467 (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1942).

posers." Because of his literary ability and of his well-known aversion to the Awakening, it is not likely that his contribution to the anti-revivalist literature will be underestimated. This is especially true in view of Chauncy's later confession to Ezra Stiles:

> I wrote and printed in that day more than two volumes in octavo. A vast number of pieces were published also as written by others; but there was scarce a piece against the times but was sent to me, and I had labour sometimes of preparing it for the press, and always of correcting the press. I had also hundreds of letters to write, in answer to letters received from all parts of the country.[2]

If, however, his contribution is not to be minimized, neither should it be exaggerated.

Calculations of the number of Chauncy's published works related to the Great Awakening vary from nine to sixteen.[3] It is with the dubious and suspicious seven that we are here concerned.[4] Since Chauncy has admitted being unofficial editor and proof-reader of virtually all that was written against the revival, it may for argument's sake be well to assume that Chauncy had something to do with all these disputed items. The attempt should be made, however, to determine what he actually wrote. The earliest of the anonymous works to be attributed to Chauncy

[2] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 1st ser., X: 162.

[3] The following works related to the Great Awakening have at one time or another been ascribed to Chauncy: *The New Creature described* . . . (Boston, 1741); *An Unbridled Tongue* . . . (Boston, 1741); *Gifts of the Spirit to Ministers* . . . (Boston, 1741); *Out-pouring of the Holy Ghost* . . . (Boston, 1742); *Enthusiasm described* . . . (Boston, 1742); *Letter to George Wishart* . . . (Edinburgh, 1742); *Appendix to State of Religion in New-England* (Glasgow, 1742); *The Wonderful Narrative* . . . (Boston, 1742); *Late Religious Commotions* . . . (Boston, 1743); *Seasonable Thoughts* . . . (Boston, 1743); *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield* (Boston, 1743); *A Second Letter* . . . (Boston, 1743); *Ministers cautioned* . . . (Boston, 1744); *Ministers exhorted* . . . (Boston, 1744); *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, Publicly Calling upon him* . . . (Boston, 1744); *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, Vindicating Certain Passages* . . . (Boston, 1745).

[4] The seven dubious works are these: *Letter to Wishart, Appendix to State of Religion in New-England, Wonderful Narrative, Late Religious Commotions*, the two letters to Whitefield of 1743 and the one in 1744. Eliminated from consideration here is the *Appendix to State of Religion in New-England*, which Shipton alone lists as a work of Chauncy's. It is in fact only a selection of passages from previously published sermons by Chauncy and five other New England ministers.

is *The Wonderful Narrative: OR, A faithful Account of the French Prophets, their Agitations, Extasies and Inspirations. . . .*[5] This narration of the fanatic excesses and bloody revolts of Huguenot extremists was carefully designed to discredit current New England enthusiasm; its slanderous inferences were hotly and deeply resented by friends of the revival. The *Account* proper, which consists largely of extended and loosely joined quotations, is unworthy of Chauncy and in no way resembles his style. Dated at New Haven, Jan. 10, 1741/2 and sent to Mr. —— in Boston, the "letter" offers no reason for one to believe that Chauncy falsified its source. In January, 1743, Chauncy wrote to his cousin, Nathaniel Chauncy, as follows: "Whoever was the author of the French Prophets, he has spoken my sentiments, particularly in the *appendix*."[6]

Yet that any other than Chauncy wrote that appendix (pp. 93-108) is difficult to believe. In contrast to the main narrative, it manifests the same style, vocabulary, most of all the same over-cautious self-justification that characterize Chauncy in this period. But how may the apparent inference to the contrary of the statement above be refuted? I have noted that Chauncy spoke of editing almost everything that came from Boston presses attacking the revival, and these labors would surely include a major slur such as the *Account*. It is very doubtful that Chauncy did not know the author (Chauncy Whittelsey?), but even as he was unwilling, at this time, to commit that intelligence to writing, so perhaps he was unwilling to admit that he was author of the appendix. This is, however, not very firm historical ground upon which to take a stand. Until more Chauncy letters or other relevant material come to light, it can only be safely asserted (1)

[5] Published in Boston, 1742, "In a Letter to a Friend," and dated January 10, 1742; attributed to Chauncy by Clarke, Ford, Evans, and Dexter; also by Joseph Tracy in his *A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield* (Boston, Tappan and Dennet, 1845), pp. 326-327; and by William Emerson, *An Historical Sketch of the First Baptist Church . . .* (Boston, Munroe & Francis, 1812), p. 188.

[6] *New England Hist. & Gen. Register*, X: 333.

that Chauncy did not write the *Account of the French Prophets*, and (2) that in the appendix to that account, his very heavy editorial hand is in evidence.

The second work of 1742 attributed to Chauncy is *A Letter from A Gentleman in Boston, To Mr. George Wishart, One of the Ministers of Edinburgh, Concerning the State of Religion in New-England.*[7] In this same year, Chauncy's sermon, *The New Creature Describ'd* . . . (Boston, 1741) was reprinted in Edinburgh, and from the University there Chauncy received the Doctor of Divinity degree.[8] The origin of the letter is in several instances identified as Boston: Whitefield "met with no Admirers among the clergy, unless here and there one, any where but in Boston: And, whether the Ministers here in general, really thought better of him than they did elsewhere, I will not be too positive to affirm." (p. 7.) The author also speaks of the six evening lectures that were set up "in this Town" that does not consist of "above 5000 Families at the largest Computation." (p. 7.) Wishart in his "To the Reader" indicates that the author was a person well-known in Edinburgh, though the latter had never been in that part of the world. The author could not then have been Colman, Chauncy's only rival among Boston's ministry in having some fame abroad. All signs point to Chauncy, including the complaints in the letter regarding the manner in which anti-revivalists "were stigmatized as Enemies of God and true Religion." And none but Chauncy could have written of the New Lights, "They place their Religion so much in the Heat and Fervour of their Passions, that they too much neglect their Reason and Judgment." (p. 22.)[9]

[7] Published in Edinburgh, this twenty-four-page letter is dated August 4, 1742; reprinted in *Clarendon Historical Society Reprints*, March, 1883. Attributed to Chauncy by Ford, Dexter and Shipton.

[8] Chauncy's sermon, *Enthusiasm described*, is his first work to carry the "D. D." on the title page.

[9] The second paragraph of Chauncy's letter to his cousin, dated January 16, 1743 (*New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Register*, X: 333), bears much resemblance to portions of this letter to George Wishart, see p. 9.

In March of 1743, T. Fleet printed and published *The Late Religious Commotions in New-England considered . . . Together with a Preface. . . .*[10] Here is the major problem. The ascription of this polemic to Chauncy, formerly often denied and always questioned, is now generally granted. But what is the evidence? In an attempt, apparently, to verify Chauncy's connection with this work, Paul Leicester Ford quotes from one of Chauncy's letters to his cousin wherein Chauncy, after noting that "Edwards' book of 378 pages upon the *good work* is at last come forth,"[11] writes: "I may again trouble myself and the world upon an antidote, and if the world should see cause to encourage it, it may in time come to light."[12] That this statement can only refer to his forthcoming *Seasonable Thoughts* is evident for these reasons: *The Late Religious Commotions* was a refutation of Edwards' sermon at New Haven, September 10, 1741, on *Distinguishing Marks,* not of his *Some Thoughts;* Chauncy, who could dash off a sermon in the few hours between a Sunday morning and Sunday afternoon service, would not have regarded a forty-page tract as ample "antidote" for a three hundred seventy-eight page treatise; only *Seasonable Thoughts* needed the world "to encourage it," bearing a subscriber list of nearly eight hundred. Finally and conclusively, *The Late Religious Commotions* was published two weeks before Edwards' *Some Thoughts* and one week before this letter to Nathaniel Chauncy was written.[13]

Earlier in the same letter, Chauncy remarks, "An answer has lately appeared to Mr. Edwards' 'trial of the spirits' [alternate title of *Distinguishing Marks*]; and I think it to be a well done

[10] The preface is twenty pages, the main work forty. Attributed to Chauncy by Sabin (following W. E. Woodward's Catalogue No. 6421), Ford, Evans and Shipton.

[11] The book here referred to is of course Jonathan Edwards' *Some Thoughts concerning the present revival of Religion . . .* (Boston, S. Kneeland and T. Green, March 1742/1743). See the *Boston Weekly News-Letter,* March 25, 1743.

[12] *New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Register,* X: 332.

[13] See *Boston Weekly News-Letter,* March 10, 1743.

thing, especially the preface."[14] To the clear implication of this statement, more evidence may be added which further implies that Chauncy is not the author. It appears improbable that Chauncy would trouble himself with an answer, tardy by well over a year, to Edwards' New Haven sermon, when he knew that the latter's treatise which would make this refutation obsolete was almost ready to be published, and when, furthermore, he (Chauncy) had already made precise plans for a refutation of that treatise. For the very month in which *Late Religious Commotions* appeared, March, 1743, Edwards published *Some Thoughts* and Chauncy advertised the title page (i.e., the table of contents) of his *Seasonable Thoughts*.[15] Already hard at work on the magnum opus, Chauncy would not have labored on a publication that would be out of date almost as soon as it was printed.[16]

In examining the internal evidence against Chauncy's authorship, it must first be noted that the preface bears great similarity in style and vocabulary to the body of the work. It appears certain that whoever wrote one also wrote the other. The preface is not an introduction to what follows; it is itself a refutation of Cooper's preface to Edwards' *Distinguishing Marks*, and thus has the same intent as the main discussion: *viz.*, to counteract the effect of the publication of Edwards' New Haven sermon. The author, denying that "apostolic Times" have returned "upon them in Boston" (p. 14), indicates his residence as being outside of Boston. He also justifies Arminianism (p. 15 f.) in a manner in which Chauncy at this stage was not yet ready to do. In this "Letter to a Friend," Edwards is repeatedly referred to by name in the text. In *Seasonable Thoughts*, however, where the situation is parallel, Chauncy more often speaks of "A noted Writer on the

[14] *New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Register*, X: 332.

[15] See *News-Letter*, March 17, 1743. Chauncy had either seen Edwards' treatise in manuscript or had received an advance copy of the published work. His point by point refutation of Edwards, revealed in this March advertisement, was altered only slightly on the title page of the work published in September.

[16] See note on p. 332 of *Seasonable Thoughts*.

Times," referring in a footnote to the passage of Edwards' book with which he is dealing.[17] Evidence of stylistic similarity to other works by Chauncy is inconclusive, but the dexterity of argument and profundity of ideas are here less apparent than in most Chaunciana. It is the opinion of the present writer that Chauncy's surviving colleague at First Church, John Clarke, was quite correct in failing to list *Late Religious Commotions* in his catalogue of Chauncy's published works.[18]

The remaining bibliographical knots are neither so difficult nor so important. They all concern letters to George Whitefield: two in 1743 "By Canonicus," and one in 1744 that is signed "L. K."[19] The two brief letters of 1743,[20] each of which bears the pseudonym Canonicus, are clearly written by an Anglican. In the second letter, for example, the following appears:

> Consider, Sir, . . . how great Dishonour you have done to that Church wherein you have ministered, what Reproach you have brought upon the University in which you were educated; nay, and what just Opportunities you have given the Enemy to rejoice. Consider, I say, these Things, and you must acknowledge, that as an undutiful Son you have highly incurred the severest Penalties the

[17] Even when referring to such *personae non gratae* as Tennent, Whitefield and Croswell, Chauncy employs the forms T——t, W——d, and C——l.

[18] J. Clarke, *A discourse delivered . . . At the Interment of the Rev. Charles Chauncy . . .* (Boston, 1787). The question: Who then wrote the tract?, though outside the proper scope of this paper, is nonetheless tantalizing. It was formerly ascribed to William Rand of Sunderland, Harvard classmate (1721) of Chauncy's and bitter opponent of itineracy (see Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, VI: 549-553; and H. M. Dexter, *op. cit.*, No. 3130). In BPL the tract is catalogued only under Rand, while the copy at JCB has written on it "By Wm Rand" in a hand that is, according to Dr. L. C. Wroth, definitely of the eighteenth century. Also copies at BA and at NYPL were quite early ascribed to Rand.

[19] In 1745 Chauncy published under his own name a letter to Whitefield about which there is no question of authorship. See bibliography, *post.*

[20] *A Letter to Rev. Mr. George Whitefield* (Evans No. 5152), not located by present writer. Attributed to Chauncy by Ford, Evans and Shipton.

A Second Letter to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, Urging upon him the Duty of Repentance, and returning into the Bosom of that Church of which he professes himself a Member and Minister. Design'd as a Supplement to the first Letter. By Canonicus. Boston, 1745. There was according to Evans a first edition of this letter, published in 1743, but no copy of that edition survives. The title here is taken from the 1745 edition. Attributed to Chauncy by Clarke (but his title is ambiguous and could refer to the letter of 1745 to Whitefield that is definitely by Chauncy), Ford, Evans, Dexter, and Shipton.

Church in such Cases can inflict. But then, for the Encouragement of your Repentance, remember, that her Censures are designed for the Amendment, not the Destruction of Offenders. . . . I advise and entreat you to do [i.e., to repent], that you may again be restored and received into the Bosom of the Church, in the Spirit of Meekness; be reestablished in all the invaluable Privileges you have at present forfeited, be no longer the Song and Byword of the People. . . .[21]

Here the concern is not for the divisions being caused within Congregational churches, but the reflection being cast upon the Church of England and Oxford University. Whitefield is also reproved for not adhering to the Thirty-Nine Articles to which he had subscribed, and for not following the forms set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, being told that if he could not have conscientiously conformed, it would have been better for him to "have abjur'd the Church, renounced her Orders, and exchang'd her Gown for a Cloak." Chauncy, who despised episcopacy as much as itineracy, would not have spoken of "the Church" or of "her Orders."[22]

In 1744 there appeared *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, Publickly calling upon him to vindicate his conduct or confess his faults.*[23] The author brings specific accusations against Whitefield: violating the ninth commandment, being guilty of slander, not using the form required by the Book of Common Prayer in administering the Supper or in public prayer, and the like. Clues as to authorship appear in the first paragraph of the letter:

[21] *A Second Letter* . . . pp. 7, 8.

[22] This letter is too mild to have been the work of Yale's former rector, Timothy Cutler, now one of Boston's Anglican clergymen. Compare his letter to Z. Grey, Sept. 24, 1743, in M. Chamberlain MSS, BPL A3. 1-5. Possibly Commissary Roger Price was the author; see Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel from the Puritan Age of New England to the Present Day* (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1882-1896), II: 509 f. The method of argument against Whitefield is quite unlike that elsewhere employed by Chauncy; see, for example, his *Ministers exhorted* . . . (Boston, 1744), p. 37 f.

[23] Signed "L. K." Printed by T. Fleet of Boston, this letter went through another edition in 1744, and in 1745 appeared "The Third Edition, Corrected," though the corrections are not at all evident. Attributed to Chauncy by Clarke, Ford, Dexter and Shipton.

When, about four Years ago, you came into New-England, I was much prejudiced in favour of you . . . and few were more constant in their attendance on your daily ministrations: Nor was Boston the only place where I attended on them.

Chauncy's initial prejudice was not in Whitefield's favor, nor could his attendance at Whitefield's meetings be described as constant. This letter, furthermore, was refuted by Chauncy's senior colleague and life-long friend, Thomas Foxcroft.[24] Though the attitudes of the two First Church ministers toward the Great Awakening were dissimilar, their amicable personal relationship would seem to preclude a public wrangling of this nature.[25] The name of Nathanael Appleton appears on the copy of this letter at the Massachusetts Historical Society. If this is only a guess as to authorship, it appears to this writer to have been a happy one. For Appleton was "much prejudiced in favour" of Whitefield at first,[26] and did have occasion to hear him outside of Boston, particularly in and around his own parish in Cambridge.[27]

It is interesting, perhaps instructive, to note that, with one exception,[28] all genuine works of Chauncy published in Boston during the period of the Awakening were printed by or for Samuel Eliot in Cornhill. All works here rejected as spurious were, also with one exception,[29] published by Timothy Fleet, editor and publisher of the coarsely anti-revivalist *Boston Evening-Post.*

[24] Thomas Foxcroft, *An Apology in Behalf of the Rev^d. Mr. Whitefield, offering a Fair Solution of Certain Difficulties* . . . (Boston, Rogers & Fowle, 1745).

[25] Foxcroft's letter produced still another, this one addressed to Foxcroft and signed by A. C——d and J. J. C. (Boston, 1745) (Sabin No. 25386). The level of discussion is far below Chauncy's plane; Foxcroft is himself a very poor controversialist.

[26] See especially his sermon, *God, and not Ministers to have the Glory . . . Occasioned by the late powerful and awakening Preaching of the Rev^d. Mr. Whitefield* (Boston, Rogers & Fowle for S. Eliot, 1741).

[27] Shipton, *op. cit.*, V: 599-609.

[28] The sermon, *An Unbridled Tongue* . . . (Boston, 1741) was printed by Rogers & Fowle.

[29] *The Wonderful Narrative: OR, An Account of the French Prophets* . . . (Boston, 1742) was printed by Rogers & Fowle.

It was earlier remarked that nine of Chauncy's works dealing with the Great Awakening were unquestionably genuine. To this group, only his *Letter to George Wishart* might properly be added. The following bibliography of Charles Chauncy on the Great Awakening is therefore submitted:

The New Creature Describ'd, and consider'd as the sure Characteristick of a Man's being in Christ: Together with some Seasonable Advice to those who are New-Creatures. A Sermon Preach'd at the Boston Thursday-Lecture, June 4. 1741. . . . Boston, 1741.

An Unbridled Tongue a sure Evidence, that our Religion is Hypocritical and Vain. A Sermon Preach'd at the Boston Thursday-Lecture, September 10th. 1741. . . . Boston, Rogers & Fowle, 1741.

The Gifts of the Spirit to Ministers consider'd in their Diversity; with the wise Ends of their various Distribution, and the good Purposes it is adapted to serve. A Sermon Preach'd at the Boston Thursday-Lecture, Decemb. 17. 1741. . . . Boston, 1742.

The Out-pouring of the Holy Ghost. A Sermon Preach'd in Boston, May 13. 1742. On a day of prayer observed by the first Church there, to ask of God the effusion of his Spirit. . . . Boston, 1742.

A Letter from a Gentleman in Boston, to Mr. George Wishart, One of the Ministers of Edinburgh, Concerning the State of Religion in New-England. . . . Edinburgh, 1742.

Enthusiasm Described and caution'd against. A Sermon Preach'd at the Old Brick Meeting-House in Boston, the Lord's Day after the Commencement, 1742. With a Letter to the Reverend Mr. James Davenport. . . . Boston, 1742.

Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England, A Treatise in five Parts. I. Faithfully pointing out the Things of a Bad and Dangerous Tendency, in the late, and present religious Appearance, in the Land. II. Representing the Obligations which lie upon all the Pastors of These Churches in particular, and upon All in general, to use their Endeavors to suppress prevailing Disorders; with the Great Danger of a Neglect in so important a Matter. III. Opening, in many Instances, wherein the Discouragers of Irregularities have been Injuriously Treated. IV. Shewing what ought to be Corrected, or Avoided, in testifying against the evil Things of the present Day. V. Directing our Thot's, more positively, to what may be judged the Best Expedients, to promote pure and undefiled Religion in these Times. With a Preface Giving an Account

of the Antinomians, Familists and Libertines, who infected these Churches, above an hundred Years ago: Very needful for these Days; the Like Spirit, and Errors, prevailing now as did then. The whole being intended, and calculated, to serve the Interest of Christ's Kingdom. . . . Boston, 1743.

Ministers Cautioned against Occasions of Contempt. A Sermon Preached before the Ministers of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, at their Annual Convention, In Boston; May 31. 1744. . . . Boston, 1744.

Ministers Exhorted and Encouraged to take heed to themselves, and to their Doctrine. A Sermon Preached the 7th of November, At the Instalment of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Frink To the Pastoral Care of the third Church in Plymouth. . . . Boston, 1744.

A Letter to the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, Vindicating certain Passages he has excepted against, in a late Book entitled, Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England; and shewing that he has neither sufficiently defended himself, nor retracted his past Misconduct. . . . Boston, 1745.

Manuscript Corrections in the Aldine Edition of Bembo's *De Aetna*

By Curt F. Bühler

On two previous occasions,[1] the present writer has commented upon the manuscript corrections found in incunabula printed by Aldus Manutius; these one may credit, with almost absolute certainty, to the press itself. The present study will discuss editorial emendations of a similar sort found in the first edition of Pietro Bembo's *De Aetna* (GW 3810); for this purpose, a score of copies scattered between Los Angeles and Vienna have been examined. Through the study of this book, one may obtain not only some very interesting particulars as to the Italian Cardinal's familiarity with the Classics and his method of literary composition, but also, I think, one may discover a pattern by which it will be possible to determine if certain copies were sold by Aldus shortly after they had come off the press or if they had remained unsold upon his shelves for some time. Any unexamined copy may be fitted into this analysis, and thereby it may readily be discovered whether such a copy was sold sooner or later, relatively speaking. With these objectives in view, it will first of all be necessary to enumerate thirteen instances of manuscript corrections which have been checked in all twenty copies; these examples will be cited in as brief a form as possible, just enough detail being given so that the checking of other copies may be facilitated:

[1] For Benedetti's *Diaria de bello Carolino* (GW 863), see the Papers, XLIII: 365-373 (1949); the corrections in the Musaeus (HC 11653) are noted in *La Bibliofilia* (to appear shortly).

1. A1^{v}, line 12: "nos" interlineated after "tuorum."
   line 13: "nos" deleted after "Angele."
2. A2, line 8: "interrogaremus" altered to "interrogaremur."
3. A2, line 18: "ripam" altered to "ripa."
4. A4^{v}, line 11: "sibi" altered to "tibi."
5. A6^{v}, line 21: "debeamus" altered to "debebamus."
6. A8^{v}, line 5: "Socratem modo aut" added after "non."
   line 6: "modo aut Aristotelem" deleted after "Platonem."
7. B1, line 10: "es" altered to "esses."
8. B1^{v}, line 18: "aquila" altered to "aquula."
9. B4^{v}, line 19: "feritate" altered to "fertilitate."
10. C8^{v}, line 17: "subiit" altered to "subit."
11. D1, line 4: "inocuparunt" altered to "inoccuparunt."
12. D3^{v}, line 10: "natura" altered to "naturae."
13. D6, line 8: "Antinoiq3" altered to "Alcinoique."

In addition to the above instances, three more "points" may be listed. The first of these is a stop-press emendation checked in all copies; the other two are pen-and-ink alterations which came to light late in the course of my investigations and could not, accordingly, be verified in those copies previously inspected.[2] These are cited here in order to complete the list of manuscript corrections as it is known to me and so as to provide still further criteria for future comparison:

A. B2, line 3: "qnia" corrected to "quia."

B. D2^{v}, line 6: "usq3" altered to "ususque."

C. D2^{v}, lines 5 & 7: "meminit Strabo" altered to "Plinius et Strabo meminere"; "illius" altered to "illorum."

[2] It is almost impossible to check such variants by correspondence, unless one has absolute confidence in the judgment and ability of one's correspondents. In the first place, the corrections are often so skillfully made that they defy identification unless one knows exactly what to look for. Secondly, many copies have been "cleaned" and these pen-and-ink emendations more or less obliterated, making it difficult (on occasion, without the use of ultra-violet rays, impossible) to determine whether or not the corrections ever existed in such copies. Certain readings in the British Museum copies have, however, been checked for me by Mr. F. C. Francis, who has thereby earned my deep gratitude.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total	A	B	C
New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 364	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		10			
New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 431	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	13		✓	
New York, Dr. Arthur E. Neergaard		✓		✓					✓				✓	4	✓		
San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, Mead 3295	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	12	✓	✓	
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. 946	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓						✓	6	✓	–	–
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. 1249	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	9		–	–
London, British Museum, 1A. 24413	✓	✓					✓	✓						4	✓	–	–
London, British Museum, 1A. 24412	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			9	✓	–	–
London, British Museum, 1A. 24411		✓	✓		✓		✓		✓		✓			6	✓	–	–
London, British Museum, 1A. 24410	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	FN	✓		10/11	✓	–	–
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Rossi 1258		✓												1	✓		
Milan, Biblioteca Braidense, AN. X1. 46		✓						✓						2	✓		
Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, D'Elci 96		✓						✓						2			–
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Inc. Nenc. 76	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					7	✓	✓	
Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Aldine 380 (41402)		✓	✓											2			–
Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Aldine 335.1 (76217)	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	10	✓	✓	✓
Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α. Z. 2. 15	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	11		✓	✓
Rome, Biblioteca Universitaria	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			9			–
Munich, Staatsbibliothek, 4°. Inc. s.a. 1180		✓												1	✓	FN	FN
Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 11 H 84	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	12	✓	✓	✓
Total	13	20	13	9	6	7	12	13	13	10	8/9	7	8		13		
Venice, J. A. & Fratres de Sabio, 1530	✓	✓		✓	FN	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	11/12		✓	✓
Amsterdam, H. Schelte, 1703	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	11		✓	✓

The table on page 138 sets forth the readings as they are found in twenty copies of the first edition; for the sake of confirmation, two later printings of the *De Aetna*[3] are also cited. The 1530 edition, issued while Pietro Bembo was still very much alive, differs materially from the Aldine text; one may reasonably presume, however, that it represents a revision authorized by the future Cardinal himself. It is most significant that, save for a single instance, the 1530 text accepts all the manuscript emendations found in the copies of the 1495 edition. A check mark (V) indicates that the manuscript alteration is present in the cited copy, while a dash (—) implies that the necessary details are not known to me; a blank space, correspondingly, will assure the reader that the text remains as originally printed by Aldus.[4]

If we turn first of all to the literary implications of the pen-and-ink emendations, we will note that Bembo had a faulty recollection of at least two classical allusions.[5] One must assume, naturally, that the author was relying upon his memory, for if he had the original texts before him it is difficult to see how he could have made these slips. Again, the misquotations are of such nature that they can only be attributed to Bembo; it is impossible to place the blame for these upon Aldus or any of his employees.

The first instance is represented by example 6 cited above; here Bembo's text may be freely translated as follows:[6]

[3] The 1530 edition forms part of the *Opuscula* of Bembo which was printed by the firm of "Joannes Antonius et Fratres de Sabio" at Venice in that year. The later text is included in the edition of *Aetna* (sometimes attributed to Cornelius Severus) printed at Amsterdam, Henricus Schelte, 1703. The copies checked belong to the present writer and have been confirmed by those in the Boston Public and New York Public Libraries.

[4] For the citation "FN" in the list, the following further notations are necessary: no. 5, the 1530 edition omits the entire phrase containing "debeamus"; no. 11, the British Museum's Cracherode copy has leaf D1 in facsimile; nos. B and C, the Munich copy has leaf D2 mutilated and these readings are lost.

[5] The eleven other emendations involve stylistic improvements or corrections of orthographic or grammatical slips.

[6] The Aldine edition (A8^{v}, lines 3-10) prints: "B. P. Ain'tandem, Platanos illae habent ripae? B. F. Pulcherrimas illas quidem, et multissimas; ut non Platonem modo, aut Aristotelem, scholasq*ue* omnes mitiores suis umbris inuitare possint ad

Bembo Senior: Is that so, then; these shores do have plane-trees?
Bembo Junior: Indeed yes, most beautiful ones and lots of them, so that they could entice not only Plato and Aristotle and all the more gentle disciples to philosophize in their shade but indeed even those most austere men, and thorough devotees of the sun, the Gymnosophists.

The Latin text, as we have seen, has been so emended that it alters "ut non Platonem modo, aut Aristotelem, scholasque" to read "ut non Socratem modo, aut Platonem, scholasque." This was a most necessary correction, since it was Socrates, not Aristotle, who was enticed into the shadow of the plane-tree, as Plato relates (*Phaedrus* 229A and 230B). However, it is perhaps even more likely that Bembo had in mind not the original Greek text but rather Cicero's observation in the *De oratore* (Lib. I, cap. vii. 28), as the Modena copy of the *De Aetna* suggests. On the page in question, the Estense example preserves a scribal note which, though difficult to make out, apparently reads:

Unde Sceuola in oratorem ita ad Crassum loquitur: Cur non imitamur, Crasse, Socratem illum qui est in phedro platonis? Nam hec [*Cicero*—me haec] tua platanus admonuit quae non minus ad optandum [?; *Cicero*—opacandum][7] hunc locum patulis est diffusa ramis quam illa cuius umbram secutus est Socrates.

Whichever classical allusion one may believe that Bembo was pointing to, it is obvious that the editorial emendation to this passage is vitally necessary.

The second example is number 13 of our list, where Bembo cites Horace (*Epistolae*, Lib. 1, Epist. 2. 27-31) in these words:

> Nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati,
> Sponsi Penelopes, nebulones, Antinoi*que*
> In cute curanda plus aequo operata iuuentus;
> Quis[8] pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies, et
> Ad strepitum citharae cessantum ducere curam.

philosophandum; sed etiam Gymnosophistas durissimos illos quide*m* homines, et sole admodum delectatos."

[7] Some of the earliest editions, including the *editio princeps* [Subiaco, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1465], here print "occupandum."

[8] The usual reading here is "Cui."

Clearly, as the editorial correction indicates, "Alcinoique" is wanted, for Horace here refers to the gracious host of Odysseus and king of the Phaeacians, Alcinous, and not to the chief of Penelope's suitors, Antinous. Thus, in these two instances, Bembo made classical "slips" which demanded corrections[9]—and, in a number of copies, got them.

What, in turn, can be deduced, in a strictly bibliographical sense, from these pen-and-ink alterations? It seems to me quite likely that a general idea of the order in which the misprints were discovered can be detected from the frequency table. Thus, example 2 shows that the correction was made in each copy examined; therefore one may argue that this slip was discovered soon after the sheets had come off the press. Conversely, one might infer, in the case of the two literary problems discussed above, that these errors did not come to the attention of Bembo (or Aldus, as the case may be) till after a good number of copies had already been sold and only seven or eight copies in a score remained available for correction.

The stop-press correction, consisting in the righting of a turned letter, affords certain information of its own. Since thirteen of the twenty copies consulted have this correction, it indicates that the text was "proofed" before half the edition-sheet had been run off. The fact that the appearance of the stop-press variant has absolutely no relation to the occurrence of the manuscript emendations shows that the corrected sheets were scattered at random through the entire edition. For example, the second Morgan copy with all its manuscript emendations has the uncorrected misprint, while the example in the Ambrosiana Library has but a single scribal alteration and yet the typographical error has here been eliminated.

The several copies themselves seem to disclose the relative order of sale. Thus, the second Morgan copy, containing all the

[9] In example C, Bembo has added to the authority of Strabo that of Pliny. This, then, is supplementary information, not correction of an error.

pen-and-ink corrections, as well as the Vienna and Huntington examples (each with twelve emendations) must have been sold after a considerable lapse of time (that is, when all the errors here listed had been discovered). The Munich copy, on the other hand, has only one correction, and here the inference is, of course, that it had been disposed of by Aldus before he knew of the other misprints. In conclusion one must observe that Aldus' correctors worked in a somewhat slipshod manner, so that a particular correction will be found in one copy and not in another, whereas the second example will exhibit a different emendation unknown to the first. Again, it may be possible to show that a misprint not corrected at the press might have come to the attention of a diligent reader who then made the necessary alteration on his own account. Such considerations naturally preclude the possibility of determining absolutely the order of sale of the several examples. In general, however, it seems obvious that (to choose at random) the Laurenziana and the first Marciana examples were sold by Aldus shortly after having come off the press, while the Modena copy was one upon which Aldus did not realize his profit too quickly. Such editorial emendations, then, as those found in the first edition of the *De Aetna* have a bibliographical as well as a literary significance and, if treated with necessary caution, do provide us with some useful information as to editorial practices and bookselling problems in the closing years of the fifteenth century.

Bibliographical Notes

*The First Editions of Sir Robert Stapylton's "The Slighted Maid" (1663) and "The Step-Mother" (1664)**

Two editions were published in 1663 of Sir Robert Stapylton's play *The Slighted Maid*, both for Thomas Dring and both, on the evidence of the ornaments, printed by Thomas Newcomb. Since one is a paginal resetting of the other, the two have been confused and their correct order mistaken.

The two editions may be differentiated as follows: (1) the title-page of Edition *(A)* reads "Acted with great Applauſe" and the last two letters of "*Highneſs*" form a ligature. In Edition *(B)* the reading is "Acted with Great Applauſe" and there is no ligature in the final two letters of "*Highneſs.*" (2) In Edition *(A)* Newcomb's fleur-de-lis ornament is placed above the dedication and his dolphin ornament above the head-title. In Edition *(B)* the dolphin ornament appears above the dedication and Newcomb's birds and flowers ornament above the head-title. (3) In Edition *(A)* sig. A3 containing the two prologues is a cancellans, the printer's measure being 82-83 mm. In Edition *(B)* the leaf is conjugate and the measure is 101 mm. (4) In Edition *(A)* the pagination is correct, whereas in Edition *(B)* page 42 is misprinted as 24, and 90 as 80.

Although listed by Woodward and McManaway as the second edition,[1] Edition *(A)* as described above is demonstrably the first. The cancellans leaf A3 in *(A)* is strong evidence for this placement (I have not yet seen a cancellandum), but the interesting evidence of the catchwords clinches the case. On sig. D2^{v} of *(A)* the catchword is incorrectly "Say'ſt" and the following words on sig. D3 are "*Iber.* Say'ſt," whereas in *(B)* the speech-heading on D3 has been corrected to "*Sal.*" and the catchword on sig. D2^{v} is "*Sal.*" On sig. G4 of *(A)* the catchword is incorrectly "*Py.*" for the following speech-heading "*Dec*"; but again the

* This Note results from investigations for a descriptive bibliography of Restoration Drama, under grant from the Research Council of the Richmond Area University Center.

[1] Gertrude L. Woodward and James G. McManaway, *A Check List of English Plays 1641-1700* (Chicago, The Newberry Library, 1945), no. 1178.

catchword is correct in *(B)*. On sig. $M3^{v}$ of *(A)* the catchword is "(That" for the following word "(Who" but in *(B)* the catchword is correct. It is impossible to believe that the errors in the catchwords of *(A)* resulted from a compositor's following *(B)* as the copy-text for a page for page and line for line reprint. Consequently, combining the evidence of these catchwords with the cancellans in the preliminaries, we may assign *(A)* with confidence as the first edition, its faulty text being corrected in *(B)*.

In Edition *(B)* the inner forme of gathering A is found in two different typesettings. In one setting the reading on sig. $A3^{v}$ line 15 is "plai'd" and in line 17 is "awe,"; in the other settings the readings are "play'd" and "aw,". There are no substantive differences in the two settings, and the ornament and initial on sig. A2 remain the same in both. Evidence for resetting of a forme in the first sheet of a book through the press usually indicates an enlargement of the edition decided on after this forme (but not its perfecting forme) has been distributed. If this is the correct explanation here, as seems probable, then the setting with the readings "plai'd" and "awe," was very likely first through the press since this typesetting appears in four of the copies I have examined to date, whereas the other is found in only one. That sheet A, containing the preliminaries exclusively, is thus indicated to have been the first sheet of this edition to be printed is another piece of evidence that *(B)* is the true second edition, the preliminary gathering of a first edition under ordinary circumstances being printed last.

Stapylton's *The Step-Mother* (1664) has been listed as existing in two editions (Woodward and McManaway nos. 1179, 1180), the first differentiated from the second in that it has the imprimatur on the title-page and errors in the pagination, whereas the second replaces the imprimatur with type-ornaments and has correct pagination. In fact, all sheets of these two false editions are the same in their typesetting and impression, and only one edition exists, with two variant states of its title-page, the differences resulting from stop-press alteration. In gathering N, page 89 may be misprinted as 83, and 92 as 82, but the variant state of this sheet can, of course, have no relation to the variant state of the title-page; and since this mispagination was corrected in press, the two states of gathering N are found irregularly with either state of the title-leaf gathering.

The Step-Mother is one of several Restoration plays for which the title-page exists in two variant states, with and without the imprimatur. In

this particular play no press-variants exist in other pages of the forme containing the title-page, and thus demonstration is impossible (other evidence being wanting) whether the imprimatur was added or deleted as the result of press-alteration. The order of the Woodward and McManaway listing, which tacitly implies that the imprimatur was removed, does not seem to accord with the evidence of certain plays of this kind in which the priority of the two states can be conjectured with some probability.

A book which parallels *The Step-Mother* in most respects is Ravenscroft's *Citizen Turn'd Gentleman* (1672). In six of the copies I have seen to date, the licensing notice is present on the title; but in four as an unrecorded variant the license is missing and the space is occupied by type ornaments. Again, no press-variants appear to assist us with the order, but if we follow general experience that press-variants usually take place early in the run of a forme and not very late in its machining, we should assign the variant without the license as the earlier. If this is so, we are probably justified in assuming that the type-ornaments were set in a space which was to be reserved for the license when received.[2]

Somewhat more certain evidence is afforded by *Elvira* (1667) by George Digby Earl of Bristol. This play exists in two unrecorded states, one with the imprimatur on the title, and one with type-ornaments in the same space. That the publisher's name spelled "Broom" in the state with the type-ornaments is altered to the customary spelling "Brome" when the imprimatur appears is very likely an indication that the imprimatur was inserted later. Again, no other variants appear elsewhere in the forme to confirm or disprove this hypothesis.

A more complex case is found in Ravenscroft's *Wrangling Lovers* (1677). In one state of the title (W & McM 977) the author's name is omitted from the title; in the other (W & McM 978) the name and a Latin motto appear. If one relied only on one's personal feelings about the appearance of these titles, one would have little hesitation in assigning the neatly composed state with the name and the motto as the first, and explain the sprawling appearance of the rearranged and partially reset

[2] This theory can, of course, be reversed, for type-ornaments would very usefully fill a space left vacant by the removal of the imprimatur. As a partial analogy an unrecorded variant in George Powell's *A Very Good Wife* (1693) may be cited. Most copies I have seen have a row of type-ornaments on the title and no author's name. The dedication is then signed "George Powell." In the variant University of Chicago copy, however, Powell's name appears on the title instead of the ornaments, and the dedication is signed "G.P." I know of no evidence to prove which is the earlier, but since usually the first state is printed in fewer copies, we might well assume here that the name was removed and the space plugged with ornaments.

state without the name as a careless attempt to fill up the space left by the removal of the name and motto. However, a small piece of unrecorded bibliographical evidence appears to indicate that, in fact, the state with the name is the later. Of the eight copies I have seen to date, four (DFo, CSmH, MiU, IU) have the title without the name and with a licensing notice on its verso. In three (CLUC, CSmH, TxU), the name appears, together with the spelling "Theatre," but the verso is blank. In one (MH) the name appears, the variant spelling is "Theater," and the verso contains the notice.

The preliminaries occupy a half-sheet only, and hence the changes were all made in the same forme during the course of printing and perfecting a full sheet from this single half-sheet-imposed forme. There are any number of relationships possible among the four variants. However, when one begins to lay out the half-sheet imposition and to print sheets in different quantities from various combinations of the press-alterations, two major facts soon emerge: (1) the licensing notice must be associated with one of the title-page changes; (2) if the change was made from an early form "Theater" to the more conventional "Theatre" (which is also the spelling in the title in its arrangement without the author's name), both the author's name and the licensing notice must have been added to an earlier form of the title.[3]

The alterations might have been managed according to one of the following three closely associated schedules.

(1) A large number of sheets are printed without the author's name and without the imprimatur, whereupon the press is stopped and the title rearranged to add the name and motto; in the resetting of part of the title, the spelling was "Theater." This setting machined a relatively few sheets to conclude the printing of the white paper. When the sheets were turned to perfect, the licensing notice was added, and the spelling altered to "Theatre." This state perfected all the sheets.

(2) A large number of sheets are printed without the name and licensing notice. When the notice arrived the press was stopped to add it, and at the same time the title was rearranged to provide the motto and the author's name, the setting being made with the spelling "Theater." This state of the type printed the few remaining sheets, but when the press paused while the pile of paper was being turned, the single change was made to "Theatre" for the perfecting forme.

[3] I have not been able to work out a method of printing which permits one to be subtracted and the other added.

(3) Many sheets are printed without name or license until the press is stopped to rearrange the title to provide the name and motto (the spelling being "Theater"). Printing is resumed, and a small number of sheets is run off, whereupon the press is stopped again, this time to add the license, in the process the spelling being changed to "Theatre." This state of the type finishes the small remaining pile of white paper and then perfects the whole.

In the present state of our information there seems little to choose between these three hypotheses. All give us acceptable proportions of states according to the eight copies I have seen. However, it should be observed that only the first method provides us with exactly the observed states, whereas either the second or third would produce an unobserved state which would have the spelling "Theatre" and also the license. By the second hypothesis this state would be produced in equal quantities with the Harvard state, but by the third in twice as many copies. In either case, however, the number would be so small that the fact none has appeared in eight observed copies is without a great deal of value as evidence, although the odds would favor hypothesis two over the third, perhaps, and one over two.[4]

The above are the only reasonable hypotheses I have been able to work out which provide all the necessary states in roughly correct proportions. It must be admitted, however, that if we chose to believe that the direction of the spelling could be reversed from "Theatre" to "Theater" (a contingency in which I have no faith according to the practice of the time), we need only reverse the above hypotheses by exchanging the alterations between printing and perfecting, and we should have the same results from the removal of the name and license notice.

The general conclusion which I believe we may arrive at from the survey of the plays listed above is that in each case the licensing notice was added during the course of printing. Indeed, this is what we might reasonably expect. The only motive that might operate to remove the notice

[4] On the other hand (1) provides us with slightly more copies of the state with "Theatre" and no license (three copies observed) than of the state without name or license (four copies), whereas (2) prints them in relatively equal quantities. However, these proportions are greatly dependent upon assuming hypothetical numbers printed by each state of the type, and the number of observed copies has been too small to venture much on the odds.

would be the fear of quickly dating the play, and of this as a cause for concern we have no evidence whatever.[5]

An interesting speculation may be advanced for *The Step-Mother* which may perhaps apply to the other plays. Timothy Twyford, the publisher, entered for his copy in the *Stationers' Register* (II, 36) on 26 December 1663, and since this is the date of the imprimatur, doubtless both formalities were settled at the same time. Now just possibly if Twyford did not enter this play until printing of the sheets was advanced, and, indeed, in his absence had reached the preliminary sheet, the compositor could not be certain what date to insert on the title and therefore may have filled the space intended for the imprimatur with type-ornaments to await Twyford's return. No other plausible explanation occurs to me to account for these plays in which the licensing notice is added by stop-press alteration.[6]

FREDSON BOWERS

The First Testaments Printed in New Jersey

The first New Testament to be printed in New Jersey, and one of the earliest printed in America, was that produced by Isaac Collins in Trenton, in 1779. A copy was only very recently found at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, where it had rested on their shelves since 1924, its distinction unrecognized and unsung.

The history of publication of the Scriptures in America is most interesting. Despite the fact that the Bible must have been the only book in many a colonial household, all copies in English had to be imported. The colonial printers were enterprising enough to print many other books for which

[5] The one instance I know of in which a licensing notice was removed (in this case its date) is Otway's *Friendship in Fashion* (1678), but this change was made in connection with others and the motive is by no means clear. Reprints of plays, many years later, often kept the original imprimatur.

[6] Original omission by inadvertence might be advanced, and is possible, but it would seem more than fortuitous that in each case these plays have ornaments or an obviously blank space in the position later filled by the notice. Twyford may have taken to Stationers' Hall the text sheets to serve as his copy for entrance; but since the entry notes the name of the author, which is missing from the printed title, it is as possible that the entry was made from manuscript as from the printed text sheets without the preliminary gathering. On the other hand, sig. A4 verso of the title-gathering contains a list of errata, including corrections for the last page of the text, and this may militate against any hypothesis for hurried post-Christmas entry from printed sheets rather than from manuscript copy. Since recorded copies I have seen are divided about half and half between the two states, it is clear that a respectable number of sheets passed the press before the imprimatur was inserted.

they believed there would be a demand, but were prevented from printing the book for which there would be the greatest demand, the Bible, by the restriction of the mother country which permitted the printing of the Bible only upon license from the king. Prior to the Revolution, the only New Testaments and Bibles that had been printed in this country were Eliot's Indian translations; Saur's German Testaments and Bibles; and possibly surreptitious editions of the New Testament and Bible printed in Boston with the imprint of the English printer. The first Bible in English to be printed in America of which we have definite knowledge, is that printed in Philadelphia by Robert Aitken in 1782, as a result of the shortage of Bibles when the supply from England had been shut off.[1]

In most cases these notable editions of the Bible were preceded by editions of the New Testament. The publication of Eliot's Indian Bible in 1663 was preceded by his New Testament in 1661; the questionable edition of the Bible, described as printed in Boston in 1752, was preceded by an equally questionable edition of the New Testament about 1750.[2] Aitken's Bible in English was preceded by his editions of the New Testament. The earliest, that of 1777, is the first Testament printed in English in America with an American imprint.

As is well known, Isaac Collins printed the first Bible to be printed in New Jersey at Trenton in 1791. This edition is of excellent workmanship, representing Collins' best work as a printer. Until recently the first New Jersey Testament known bore the date of 1788. William Nelson, however, in his *Issues of the New Jersey Press* (Paterson, 1899), listed an edition under the year 1780 as being printed by Isaac Collins, but indicated that he had taken his information from a newspaper advertisement and had not seen a copy of the actual book. This listing was repeated in Constance Humphrey's "Check-List of New Jersey Imprints to the End of the Revolution," in the PAPERS, 24: 43-149 (1930), but the compiler had not located a copy of the 1780 edition.

Nelson's entry was doubtless based on advertisements appearing in the issues of the *New Jersey Gazette*, the newspaper published by Collins. The

[1] For a very good account of these early editions see *America's First Bibles*, by Edwin A. R. Rumball-Petre (Portland, Maine, Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1940).

[2] These editions are described by Isaiah Thomas, in his *History of Printing in America*, second ed. (Albany, N. Y., 1874), I: 107-108. Their existence has been questioned by many writers. See "America's First Bibles," by Randolph G. Adams, in: *The Colophon*, New Series, vol. 1., no. 1., Summer 1935, pp. 11-20, for a summary of the arguments on the subject.

THE NEW

TESTAMENT

OF OUR

LORD AND SAVIOUR

JESUS CHRIST,

TRANSLATED OUT OF THE

ORIGINAL GREEK:

AND WITH THE FORMER

TRANSLATIONS

DILIGENTLY COMPARED AND REVISED.

APPOINTED TO BE READ IN CHURCHES.

TRENTON:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY ISAAC COLLINS, PRINTER
TO THE STATE OF NEW-JERSEY.

MDCCLXXXII.

Courtesy of the Yale University Library.

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Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

first reference to the New Testament is found in the issue of March 29, 1780, in which appears the following notice:

A new edition of the New-Testament, Spellingbooks, Primers, Parchment, and Writing-Paper, To Be Sold by the Printer hereof.

No further mention is made of a New Testament until the issue of October 18, 1780, when the following advertisement appears:

Just Published and to be Sold, wholesale and retail, by Isaac Collins, at the Printing-Office, in Trenton, a neat Edition of THE NEW TESTAMENT, Printed on a good type, and good paper.

This advertisement was repeated in all issues to the end of the year.

The question as to whether Isaac Collins printed a New Testament in 1780 remains unsolved, but while looking for the answer I found a copy dated 1779, which is now believed to be his first, and a copy of an edition bearing a date of 1782. Neither of these is listed in Evans' *American Bibliography*, or any other bibliography consulted, and are perhaps the only copies extant. The discovery of the 1779 edition is important, since it places the printing of the New Testament in New Jersey a year earlier than ever before supposed, and gives Isaac Collins the distinction of being the second printer of the New Testament in English with an American imprint in this country.

Inasmuch as no New Testament was advertised by Collins in the *New Jersey Gazette* in 1779, it is entirely possible that this edition is the one referred to in the advertisements quoted. The printer may have started printing the book in 1779, using that date on the title-page, but not completing the volume until the following year.

A copy of the 1779 edition, as stated in the first paragraph, is located in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It measures 16½ x 10 cm. and consists of 174 leaves or 348 pages, but pages 325-348 are misnumbered 345-368. Signatures are [A]-I, K-U, X-Ff, in sizes. The text is in double columns and has very narrow margins, although it appears to be in the original binding.

The 1782 edition was found at the Yale University Library. It is of similar size, measuring 17 cm. in height, and contains the same number of leaves with the same signatures, but is correctly paged, ending at 348. The title-pages of these two first New Jersey Testaments are reproduced (in reduced size) through the courtesy of their respective owners.

George C. Rockefeller

Henry Lewis's "Das Illustrirte Mississippithal"

In a note contributed to the PAPERS (Third Quarter, 1949, pp. 344-345) Bertha L. Heilbron reprinted a hitherto unknown prospectus for Henry Lewis's *Das Illustrirte Mississippithal* which raises again the question of an English edition of this puzzling work. Sabin in 1878 listed, from *The English Catalogue of Books*, the following item: "Lewis, (H.). Valley of the Mississippi, and Customs of Indians. 80 views, 4to, 60 s. Philadelphia, 1858." No such copy has ever been seen, but there are indications that an edition in English was projected and that publication of it actually began.

The very title-page description of *Das Illustrirte Mississippithal*[1] specifically mentions an English version: "Das Illustrirte Mississippithal dargestellt in 80 nach der Natur aufgenomenen Ansichten vom Wasserfalle zu St. Anthony an bis zum Golf von Mexico (eine Entfernung von ungëfahr 2300 englischen Meilen) von H. Lewis, Landschaftsmaler aus St. Louis, in Missouri. Nebst einer historischen und geographischen Beschreibung der den Fluss begränzenden Länder, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die verschiedenen den obern Mississippi bewohnenden Indianerstämme. (Deutsch und englisch.) Von George B. Douglas." Sabin cited a variant title for the German edition which, following the word "Indianerstämme," reads: "Nach dem engl. Original-Text von H. Lewis deutsch bearbeitet von George B. Douglas." The Library of Congress catalogue further describes this work as originally issued in parts, Numbers 1-3 (1854) and 4-6 (1855) bearing the title page statement "Nach dem englischen original-text deutsch bearbeitet, von George B. Douglas," and Numbers 7-20 reading "(Deutsch und englisch.) Von George B. Douglas." The Library of Congress card also informs us that in the *Messkatalog* or *Bibliographisches Jahrbuch* of Avenarius, 1854-55, these first six parts were entered with the note "Ist auch mit englischen text zu gleichen preise zu haben." In the advertisement which Miss Heilbron has discovered the English title and description are used with no mention of translation or of publication in German; it may be safe to assume then that this notice was got up for the English, not the German, edition, for

[1] Publication of this work in parts was begun by Arnz and Company of Düsseldorf in 1854. After some difficulties the volume was at last completed in 1857. Although the title page carries no date, copies are generally credited to 1858. In 1923 a facsimile reprint was published in Leipzig and Florence by Schmidt and Günther and by Otto Lange; to this J. Christian Bay contributed an introduction in English which has remained one of the principal sources on the life of the artist.

surely a book the text of which was entirely in German would not be advertised for sale in the United States as if it were in English![2]

One interestingly-odd feature of the German edition, again suggestive of an English version, is the bi-lingual irregularity of the picture captions. Not counting the lithographed title page and allowing for the New Orleans view as a double plate, there are seventy-eight illustrations. In the 1923 reprint ten of the captions are in German only, thirty-four carry both German and English titles, and thirty-three are in English, with the remaining lithograph bearing a French place-name from Louisiana so that it ought to be added to the group of English—or American—titles. Examination of four copies available in St. Louis of the original edition discloses that six plates with German titles in the 1923 volume were captioned only in English, the remaining seventy-two captions being identical in the five copies checked. Does this variation and lack of uniformity indicate editorial confusion or does it suggest that two different language editions were at least thought of?[3]

Of the composition of *Das Illustrirte Mississippithal* almost nothing is known. It was probably written in 1853 (an American railroad report of November, 1852, is quoted at length). In part it is based on Lewis's notebooks; there are several references in the text to these notebooks and at least one quotation (1847) from them. In greater part, however, it is compiled from the best and most recent printed sources for the history of the Mississippi Valley by someone with ready access to St. Louis newspapers as well as other local publications. Lewis at Düsseldorf mentioned the publication of the volume from time to time in letters to his brother

[2] In this connection I add a note to redouble confusion: William T. Coggeshall in his anthology *The Poets and Poetry of the West* (Columbus, 1860, p. 243) declared that Lewis F. Thomas had published in St. Louis "a quarto pictorial work called the 'Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated.' Parts of it were reprinted in London and were translated into German, and issued at Dusseldorf." One can easily see the confusion which might arise between the St. Louis publication of 1841-42, lithographs by J. C. Wild and text by L. F. Thomas, with the volume of the same short title by Lewis and Douglas. But it would certainly be interesting to know what Coggeshall meant by his reference to a London printing.

[3] It must be assumed that the 1923 edition followed closely an original edition of the book. The plates bear no numbers in any copy that I have examined. Of minor importance is the fact that there are frequent differences in the placing of the plates; since in most instances this is a matter only of a few pages. Mr. Bay, however, informed me that in some copies the plates are in continued sequence following the text and that some copies were issued with an abbreviated text and only about thirty plates. Sabin cited a copy with the customary numbers of pages (431) but only twenty-four plates.

George in St. Louis. In a fragment which almost certainly belongs to midsummer, 1854, Henry wrote: "I have written you nothing of late about the book I had sold to the Germans Arnz & C°. I told you however that I got my money finally all out of them and there now seems to be a possibility of the book being finished I hope this winter, whether I shall have equal trouble to get my fifteen hundred thalers worth of books remains yet to be seen." Two years later the matter was not yet cleared up: on 1 June 1856 he wrote, "My business, too, with my publishers is not yet settled, I have it is true, as I wrote you, got my money from them, but I have yet to receive the $1000 in books. The work is not yet finished however, but I think now it is in a fair way to be so soon." The following summer (24 July 1857) Henry referred once more to the book: "Arnz and C° the publishers have just begun again, I hope for the last time, to print my work—it was not before however I had commenced a second suit for damages that they moved in the matter. By these rascally delays they have ruined not only their own but my prospects, I am afraid, of the sale of the work. As I have before told you I have a *fifteen hundred* Thaler interest in the work but if I could sell my interest for half I should be well satisfied." Six months later (4 January 1858) the artist made another significant reference to *DIM:* "The concern [Arnz and Co.] which was one of the largest in Germany, is continued in a small way by the creditors, but whether my work is ever completed is a matter extremely doubtful. They had finished the *German edition* [Lewis' italics], which I saw for the first time yesterday. It is got up in a very *common way* totally different from the contract I had with them. I would not have received it had they not have failed. Owing to the trouble I had with them some two years ago when I was compell'd to sue them for the money they owed—I have had no intercourse with them, and had not therefore had the superintendance of the work in my hands as I should have done."

Not the least mysterious aspect of this bibliographical problem is the identity of George B. Douglas, announced on the title page as the author of the text (it is confusingly true that there are a number of internal references to Lewis as author!). No one has yet succeeded in locating Douglas. According to footnotes two poems quoted in *DIM* are credited to him: "Der Wenona's felsen" was reprinted from "*Die Sagen der Indianer;* 24 Originalgedichte von G. B. Douglas. Mit Illustrationem von Louis Toussaint" and "Die Prairie" from " 'Das Land der Indianer,' Gedichte von G. B. Douglas. Illustrirt von Louis Toussaint." It is possible the lat-

ter was merely a story from the volume previously cited. But these titles are not to be found in the catalogues of the Library of Congress, the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, or in Sabin. Nor is Douglas represented in such comprehensive works as Duyckinck's *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (1856), William T. Coggeshall's *Poets and Poetry of the West*, or Rufus Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America* (1845). He wrote in *DIM* like a Middlewesterner, a man familiar with the history and sources of history of the Mississippi Valley; yet he is not to be found in the histories or directories of St. Louis or the histories of Missouri.

The original edition of *DIM* is indeed a rare book, but it is probably not in as short supply as popular opinion has it. At least since Mr. Bay wrote his introduction to the 1923 reprint it has been current that "fewer than twenty" copies are to be found in public and private collections in America. To satisfy myself on this point I have recently, either in person or by letter, made a check of fifty-three leading Americana libraries and found seventeen copies of record among them. In addition I am informed that at least three more copies are privately owned in St. Louis. On the basis of this incomplete survey, it is more likely that there are forty copies than twenty in the United States. It will be of interest to list these known library holdings:

Chicago: The John Crerar Library.
The Chicago Historical Society.
Newberry Library.
Cincinnati: The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.
Columbia, Missouri: The State Historical Society of Missouri.
Denver: Denver Public Library.
Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Historical Library.
New York: New York Public Library.
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
St. Louis: The Saint Louis Mercantile Library (2 copies).
St. Louis Public Library.
The Missouri Historical Society.
The City Art Museum.
St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society.
San Marino, California: The Huntington Library.
Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress.

John Francis McDermott

More Dos Passos: Bibliographical Addenda

Since the publication of my review of Jack Potter's *Bibliography of John Dos Passos* (Chicago, Normandie House, 1950) (PAPERS, XLIV: 201-204 [Second Quarter, 1950]), I have discovered several Dos Passos items that appeared in neither Potter's exhaustive compilation, nor in Professor Martin Kallich's earlier list in the *Bulletin of Bibliography* (XIX: 231-235 [May-August, 1949]), nor in my own "John Dos Passos and His Reviewers" in the *Bulletin of Bibliography* (XX: 45-47 [May-August, 1950]), nor in the review. Dos Passos's latest book, however, and most of the secondary references cited below were published after the appearance of Potter's and Kallich's bibliographies.

(a) Items by John Dos Passos:

"Two Interviews." *The Official Bulletin of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston.* I: No. 7, p. 3 (December, 1926).

Dos Passos's first article in a case that he was to write a great deal about in various books, pamphlets, and periodicals.

"To John Dos Passos" [an editorial]. *New Masses.* X: 8-9 (March 6, 1934).

Contains "An Open Letter to the Communist Party," signed by Dos Passos and twenty-four others.

"News Items from Institute Members" [John Dos Passos]. *National Institute News Bulletin* (New York). IV: 5 (1938).

GEORGE GROSZ. Introduction by John Dos Passos. Edited by Imre Hofbauer. London and Brussels, Nicholson and Watson, [1948].

Pages 9-10 contain an "Introduction" by Dos Passos. Himself a painter, he has written elsewhere about Grosz: "Satire as a Way of Seeing," an introduction to *Interregnum: A Series of Sixty Drawings* . . . by George Grosz (New York, Black Sun Press, 1936 [1937]), pp. 9-19; and "Grosz Comes to America," *Esquire,* VI: 105, 128, 131 (September, 1936).

"Visit to Evita [Peron]." *Life.* XXVI: 27-28, 31-32 (April 11, 1949).

THE WORLD'S BEST . . . Edited by Whit Burnett. New York, The Dial Press, 1950.

Pages 124-130 contain the selection "Art and Isadora" by Dos Passos, which is an excerpt from *The Big Money.* This is prefaced by a short note by Dos Passos. A biographical and bibliographical sketch appears on page 1122.

THE PROSPECT BEFORE US. By John Dos Passos. Illustrated by Micky Strobel. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950. 375 pp.

LIFE'S PICTURE HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II. New York, Time Incorporated, 1950. viii, 368 pp.

Text was written by Dos Passos and others. Pages 3, 27, 47, 71, 89, 107, 135, 183, 227, 267, 283, 323 contain full-page texts signed: John Dos Passos.

(b) Items about John Dos Passos:

Adams, J. Donald. "Speaking of Books" [In Defense of Dos Passos]. *New York Times Book Review.* February 13, 1948, p. 2.

Cambon, G. Glavco. "La trilogia 'U.S.A.' di John Dos Passos." *Le Carte Parlanti,* n.s. XI: 24-26 (30 Settembre 1950).

Commager, Henry Steele. *The American Mind.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. 269-271 are on Dos Passos's part in "The Literature of Revolt."

Hicks, Granville. "Dos Passos and His Critics." *American Mercury.* LXVIII: 623-630 (May, 1949).

Hicks, Granville. "The Politics of John Dos Passos." *Antioch Review.* X: 85-98 (March, 1950).

Howe, Irving. "John Dos Passos: The Loss of Passion (Political Awakening and Literary Talent)." *Anvil and Student Partisan.* II: 11-13 (Fall, 1950). From *Tomorrow.* VII: 54-57 (March, 1949).

Joughin, G. Louis, and Edmund M. Morgan. *The Legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti.* New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948. Pp. 243-245 and 438-444 deal with the part Dos Passos played in the famous case.

Kallich, Martin. "John Dos Passos: Liberty and the Father-Image." *Antioch Review.* X: 99-106 (March, 1950).

Krutch, Joseph Wood. "Drama" [Review of "The Moon Is a Gong"]. *Nation.* CXXII: 348 (March 31, 1926).

Magill, Frank N., and Dayton Kohler, *editors. Masterplots.* New York, Salem Press, 1949. Contains synopses of *Manhattan Transfer,* pp. 555-557; *Three Soldiers,* pp. 984-986; and *U. S. A.,* pp. 1051-1054.

Mizener, Arthur. "The Novel of Manners in America." *Kenyon Review.* XII: 1-19 (Winter, 1950).

Poore, Charles. "Books of the Times." *New York Times.* January 28, 1938, p. 19. A review of *U. S. A.* the day after publication.

Posani, Riccardo. "Recensione di 'The Grand Design.'" *Il Ponte* (Italy). December, 1949, p. 1529.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. "A propos de John Dos Passos." *Situation* (Paris). I: 14-25 (1947).

Warfel, Harry R. *American Novelists of Today.* New York, American Book Company, 1951. Pp. 122-124 contain a biography of Dos Passos and brief accounts of his major novels.

Unsigned. "In New Writing Role" [Dos Passos signed by General Mills]. *Business Week.* No. 1032: 92 (June 11, 1949).

(c) Reviews of John Dos Passos's books:

First Encounter (1945)

Conroy, Jack. *Chicago Sun Book Week.* October 14, 1945, p. 3.

Daum, Harry. *Springfield Republican.* October 28, 1945, p. 4d.

Moss, Howard. *New York Times Book Review.* December 16, 1945, p. 11.
Plumb, M. M. *Library Journal.* VII: 890 (October 1, 1945).
Unsigned. *New York Herald Tribune Book Review.* November 11, 1945, p. 40.
Unsigned. *New Yorker.* XXI: 98 (October 6, 1945).

The Prospect Before Us (1950)

Cohn, D. L. *New York Times Book Review.* October 22, 1950, p. 16.
Derby, Donald. *Springfield Republican.* November 12, 1950, p. 8d.
Jackson, Joseph Henry. *San Francisco Chronicle.* November 1, 1950, p. 22.
Mowrer, E. A. *Saturday Review of Literature.* XXXIII: 14 (November 4, 1950).
Rolo, C. J. *Atlantic Monthly.* CLXXXVI: 96 (November, 1950).
Thomas, Norman. *New York Herald Tribune Book Review.* November 5, 1950, p. 4.
Unsigned. *Booklist.* XLVII: 110 (November 15, 1950).
Unsigned. *New Yorker.* XXVI: 166 (November 11, 1950).
Unsigned. *Time.* LVI: 106-108 (October 30, 1950).
Unsigned. *Virginia Kirkus' Bookshop Service.* XVIII: 505 (August 15, 1950).

Among other data of less importance have been a biographical sketch in the *Saturday Review of Literature,* XXXII: 8 (January 8, 1949); and the following recent portraits: *Newsweek,* XXXIII: 58 (January 3, 1949), and XXXVI: 103 (October 23, 1950); *Saturday Review of Literature,* XXXII: 7 (February 12, 1949), and XXXII: 109 (August 6, 1949); and *Life,* XVII: 33 (August 22, 1949).

WILLIAM WHITE

Icelandic Translations of Maugham

The following list of eight Icelandic translations of books by W. Somerset Maugham and one contribution to an anthology supplements "More Maughamiana" by Klaus W. Jonas (PAPERS, 4: 378-383, 1950).

Translations

1. Fjötrar *(Of Human Bondage).* Einar Guðmundsson þýddi. Seyðisfirði, Prentsmiðja Austurlands h. f., 1948. 472 p.

2. Í afkima *(The Narrow Corner).* [Fyrri hluti]: Síðart [sic!] hluti. Reyfarinn II. Reykjavík, Bókasafn Heimilisritsins, 1947. 364 [2] p.

3. Í leit að lifshaminju. Sérprentum úr Morgunblaðinu. Reykjavík, Ísafoldarprentsmiðja h. f., [1945]. 139 p.[1]

[1] English title unidentified. Literally this is "In Search of the Future."

4. Líf og leikur eða Skuggi fortíðarinnar *(Cakes and Ale)*. Skúli Bjarkan íslenzkaði. Seyðisfirði, Prentsmiðja Austurlands h. f., 1947. 277 p.

5. Meinleg örlög. Sögur frá Austurlöndum Kristín Ólafsdóttir íslenzkaði. Reykjavík, Menningar- og fraeðslusamband alþýðu, 1946. 204 p.[2]

6. Suðraenar syndir. Úrvalssögur. Þýtt hefur Halldór Ólafsson. Reykjavík, Njarðarúgáfan, 1945. 260 p.[3]

7. Svona var það og er það enn *(Then and Now)*. Brynjólfur Sveinsson íslenzkaði. Akureyri, Útgáfn B. S., 1946. 281 p.

8. Tunglið og tíeyringur *(The Moon and Sixpence)*. Karl Isfeld íslenzkaði. Reykjavík, Bókaútgáfa Menningarjoðs, 1947. [Pr. á Seyðisfirði.] 288 p.

Contribution to Anthology

9. Úrvals Njósnarasögur eftir heimsfraege höfunda [I] (W. Somerset Maugham: Landraðamaðurinn . . .) Sig. Björgólfsson þýddi. Seyðisfirði, Prentsmiðja Austurlands h. f., 1947. 131 p.[4]

In addition to the above titles there are four others in Lárus Sigurbjörnsson's "Íslenzk leikrit" (Landsbókasafn Íslands, *Árbók*, 2 ár, 1945, Reykjavík, 1946. p. 103):

10. Fyrirvinnan *(The Breadwinner)*. Sjónleikur í 3 þáttum. Þýð., Ragnar E. Kvaran. 1938.

11. Hringurinn *(The Circle)*. Leikrit í 5 þattum. Þýð., Aevar Kvaran.

12. Loginn helgi *(The Sacred Flame)*. Sjónleikur í 3 þattum. Þýð., Bogi Ólafsson, 1940.

13. Penelópa *(Penelope)*. Gamanleikur í 3 þattum. Þýð., María Sk. Thoroddsen, 1944.

Item 3, *Í leit að lifshaminju*, is a reprint from *Morgenblaðið*.

NATHAN VAN PATTEN

[2] English title unidentified. Literally this is "Portentous Fortune."

[3] English title unidentified. Literally this is "Scenes from the South."

[4] Literally, this is "Selections from Spy [or Detective] Stories." Maugham's contribution "Landraðamaðurinn" is "The Traitor."

"Household Words" in America

Between 1850 and 1870 Charles Dickens conducted two very successful literary journals: *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. Both journals were republished in America, in the London edition and the American reprint, in weekly and in monthly parts. And we have the statement of the American publisher of the pirated edition of *All the Year Round* that the success of this latter magazine in America must have been quite phenomenal:

> *All the Year Round* was commenced in May, 1859, and though but 18 monthly parts have been issued, we believe it has the largest circulation of any similar publication in the world. Yet notwithstanding the wide circulation of the work itself, its columns are more quoted from than any other publication, and it is probably not an exaggeration to estimate that Mr. Dickens' new story "Great Expectations" will find in this country more than three million readers.[1]

Despite the popularity of *All the Year Round*, our knowledge of the details of its fortunes in America is very limited; and the American history of *Household Words* is almost absolutely dark, as is the whole subject of periodical pirating and "arrangements."[2] Considerable light is, I think, thrown on the misfortunes of *Household Words* in America by the following letters from publishers in New York to Dickens and Bradbury & Evans, the English publishers of the journal.[3] The first letter, addressed to Dickens and dated February 23, 1853, is from one P. D. Orvis:

> Sir
>
> I take the liberty of addressing you on the subject of your journal "Household Words." I presume that you are now deriving no benefit from its republication in New York. The present sale of the London edition there, is extremely limited, and that of the reprint, (which has lately been in very inefficient hands) is not one fourth what it should and can be made to reach with well directed and energetic effort—
>
> I am connected with the publishing interest in New York, and would like an interview with you at any time, most agreeable to yourself, when I will suggest some measures, which if carried out may possibly result to our mutual advantage.

[1] *All the Year Round*, American ed., IV: 336 (1860). The American publisher was Emerson & Co., 37 Park Row, New York.

[2] I am grateful to Professor Royal A. Gettmann of the University of Illinois, a former teacher, and to Professor Oscar Maurer of the University of Texas for confirmation of our present position of ignorance regarding the American reprints of Dickens' journals.

[3] The letters quoted in this note are in the possession of Bradbury, Agnew & Co.; Alan G. Agnew, Esq., the Managing Director, has kindly made them available to me and has given me permission to print them.

Oblige me by appointing an early interview and as I am unknown to you, I beg leave to refer you to Mowbray Morris Esq. of "The Times" as to my respectability. My address is the "Queens Hotel"

I am. Very respty.

Yr. obt. servt.
P. D. Orvis

The next letter, dated March 31, 1854, from 17 Spence Street, Brooklyn, is from one Ezra D. Barker and is also addressed to Dickens. Although it is very long, I quote the entire letter as showing, in more than the mere facts stated, the condition of *Household Words* in America.

Dear Sir,

It is not without some little hesitation that I have at length gathered assurance sufficient to address you; and I hope you will not consider me intrusive or impertinent for thus crowding myself into your notice—My "assurance" is gained from the general tone and honorable sentiment that is manifested in all your writings; and I cannot but believe you will receive what I have to say kindly and confidentially, as I shall voluntarily place myself somewhat at your mercy—By this time you will wish to know who I am and what is my business—Here it is—This afternoon, as the junior partner of the firm of McElrath & Barker, I addressed a letter, containing proposals for the republication of H. Words, to Bradbury & Evans—That letter will pass under the eye and the sanction of my partner—This will not; neither will he or any one else know of it; at present at least—I do not do this in a private way because I wish to state anything at variance with my partner's wishes and interests, but for the reason that I have wishes and interests beyond his which I believe you will appreciate and duly consider—Let me explain—I entered into copartnership with Mr. McElrath about the first of last July and took upon myself an equal share in the republication of H. Words—Mr. McE. & Lord had then had the publication about six months—before them [Angell ?] & Co.—and before them G. P. Putnam who first imported H. W. adding his own imprint, and afterwards reprinting it—When I went in with Mr. McE. (I took Lord's place) I invested all the money I had acquired from a poor country boy up to Principal of one of the largest public schools in this city—My money bought stock and "good will"— Before the contract was made, I supposed, in my innocence (?), that it was the good will got by each publisher of his predecessor down to Putnam and gotten by him of you or your publishers[.] I will be frank to say, however that before the partnership was fully perfected, I called on Mr. P. who in answer to my query said *No he didn't know that he could say we had the good will of the English publishers*—This did not look quite so favorable, but still I purchased the *good will*, determining at once to write you, and offer you a percentage that would answer to that of an author's copy right, proportioned to the *good will* and advantage you could give us—I mentioned my intention to Mr. [Angell ?] who said he had written to you concerning the same thing, and that you declined making any arrangement with an American publisher—Mr. McE. also told me it would be of no use—Upon this I rested; but I have now written to Messrs. B. & E.s, thinking that since

the advanced sheets of Hard Times have been sold, I may have been frightened off from what I might have done months ago—Now, we are willing to do all that is proposed by us in the said letter to B&E. and besides that, I am willing to go farther —Let me continue to explain—When I entered this concern, I determined to work night & day, and spare no pains or exertions in an honorable way—We have made the H. Words quite conspicuous and the general impression is that its circulation here is some three or four times as large as it really is—Its actual condition now is this. We print only 5000 copies weekly & monthly included—When I commenced there were no orders for any monthlies and but for about 2000 weeklies—It was then a losing concern—Now it just about pays—Its circulation during the last vol. increased about two thousand—From the facilities we now have added to Hard Times it cannot be less than ten thousand at the close of this vol.—that is, provided you don't blow us up—You would probably suppose the circulation more extensive here; but there are two or three considerations that will show why it is not—It is partially a local work & not quite so interesting to an American as to an English reader—There are no *pictures* in it which take so well with a great mass that cannot appreciate anything without them. It has never been *pushed* until we took hold of it and we have not done all that might be, by any means—The great body of our people do not even know what the true character of the work is—It goes among a high class of readers for the most part at present, but there are a few of a like order who seem to think it is a work of light literature. Now strictures upon the habits of our people, although but too just, have left a prejudice that operates a little, as I find, but that is wearing away—But I must stop this or you will never get through alive—

Now come the propositions—If we can get advance sheets of H. W. we will pay all *they can be made to pay* us in such a way that you shall get the greatest possible benefit that could be had under existing laws or rather *no laws*—I will transfer to you all my right in the business, and carry it on as I now do, for a salary—I will get any works that you may hereafter publish copyrighted in this country in my own name and they shall be of the same value to you as to an American author, provided you wish to write something that would be of great interest to American readers and of comparative little interest to English readers—I would also add, that I would endeavor to buy out Mr. McE's interest for you if you should desire—Now each of these propositions would rest on my honor & faithfulness, and before you should entrust anything in my power, I should satisfy you that I could be relied on implicitly, by referring any agent of yours to all persons in whose employ I have ever been, and to all who have been acquainted with me long enough to *know* me—I should court & desire a thorough investigation that you might have entire confidence in me—

Mr. Dickens, please bear with me a few words farther—I said I had interests in H. W. beyond Mr. McE—He is a wealthy man—I am not—With me it is a dernier resort, and all my capital is there—His son was with me until lately, but now I have the whole of the active duties on myself alone—I work early & late and every thing that I can do for the prosperity of the house shall be done[4]—If we cannot get

[4] On the margin of the letter at this point appears the following note: "I am heartily sick of this incoherent scribbling but it must go—"

your cooperation, we must go on without it as I now have a living to make for more than myself; but I do hope you will see by my letter, that I desire to do just what is right, and use your influence to favor me—

N. York, 17 Spence St.,
Saturday Morning—

The foregoing letter I wrote at my residence last evening, while suffering from fatigue and a most severe cold—On looking it over this morning—I am ashamed of it, but as I have no time to write another I must send this or none—If what I have written should not strike you favorably, please oblige me so far as to cover the exposure I have made of my own personal affairs—If it *does* meet with a favorable eye, you are at liberty to make use of any information I have given you that you deem proper—In any event will you drop me a line; and so far as you desire, I will consider it sacred with myself—

I enclose two paragraphs taken from N. York Times, & Tribune—

And now, that I have inflicted upon you a long tedious letter, I am fully aware —Let me assure you that I have no concealments to make in this matter, and in so doing I beg to be considered

Your obedient servant
Ezra D. Barker[5]

Dickens either did not reply at all to this rather pathetic letter, which seems most likely; or replied unfavorably. This is implied in the next letter from P. D. Orvis, addressed to Bradbury & Evans and dated from New York, April 7, 1854.

Gentn.

Since my last letter very little progress has been made in the matter of the Copyright and the impression seems to prevail that Congress will not act in the matter this session either from indisposition to do so or press of more exciting subjects—

I have recently acquired some particulars respecting the American Reprint of Household Words, which will serve to show you how little justice is actually done to that publication by its present American publishers who I may mention have recently applied to me to purchase the concern which I declined doing it being burdened with so heavy and ill assorted a back stock &c.

The present circulation of Household Words amounts to the very low figure of 5000 copies mostly in the Monthly parts and it is just about self supporting at the high rates at which it is sold—it has never I learn made any money for its American publishers and I think the reason is sufficiently obvious, it has always been either sold at too high a price to command any circulation or it has been published by inexperienced parties—The fact of it having changed hands so often and the inability of the publishers to announce a legitimate arrangement with the English proprietors has also tended to impair the Confidence of the public—

[5] The following note is written along the margin of the last page of Barker's letter: "If you should see our letter to B. & E. you will notice that we write as if the matter lay entirely with them—In this I speak of it as if it were yours alone— The fact is—I don't know who has controll of H. Words—but I suppose it is between you—"

I have had for nearly two years but one opinion about the matter & that was this—that if the publication was properly pushed at a price comparing favorably with the original one a fine circulation might be obtained—I have recently (in Jany) announced an American edition of Chambers' Journal & have already got it up to 8 to 10 000 copies & it has not as many claims to popularity by far as "Household Words"[.] I have no doubt but with my facilities I could give Household Words a handsome and profitable circulation in a short time—& I should be glad to make an exclusive arrangement with you for an advance copy for which I would pay a fair price—if you should prefer this mode to becoming directly interested in the publication of it—

At the present time with a *Dickens* story just commencing great things could be done with it but will not be by the present publishers[.]

I hope to hear from you on the subject

& remain

Very Resptfy
P. D. Orvis

Apparently Bradbury & Evans did express some interest in Orvis' proposals; and he made the following specific proposal. The English proprietors would furnish the plates to print from in New York and defray the expenses of getting up three or more pages of American matter. The right to publish *Household Words* in America, the plates used there, and the profits of the business—together with the expenses for office, labor, fuel, and incidentals—were to be shared equally between Orvis and Bradbury & Evans. On his part, Orvis was to handle all the business in America and provide half the necessary capital. Bradbury & Evans were to make a certain allowance for their share of the advertising of *Household Words*, and Orvis was to pay the balance; he would in turn have all the receipts for advertisements in the monthly parts. Prices set for the journal in America were 3 cents for single copies and $1.00 for yearly subscriptions.[6]

Our final letter is a direct offer for purchase of the plates of *Household Words*. The letter is dated April 18, 1854, from London, and is addressed to Bradbury & Evans.

Gentn—

I beg to offer you £225 (Two hundred & twenty five pounds) per annum for a complete duplicate set of the stereotype plates of the "Household *Words*", [*sic*] Edited by C Dickens Esq to be shipped fortnightly as much in advance of your publishing as possible[.]

Your reply [per Africa?] to New York this week will oblige

I am Gentn

Yours truly
Alexander Montgomery
New York

[6] The details of Orvis' proposition are among papers in the possession of Bradbury, Agnew & Co.

There is no indication that any one of these offers was accepted by the English coproprietors of *Household Words*. The 1850's were years of copyright agitation in America; and certainly no legally protective arrangements were possible to the English publishers before the journal was discontinued in 1859. And it is not surprising that the course of *Household Words* was not so brilliant in America as was that of its successor *All the Year Round:* in the final number of *Household Words*[7] Dickens had stated that in its fifth week the circulation of *All the Year Round* trebled that of the earlier journal. It is somewhat remarkable, on the other hand, that it was only after four years of publication in America that a Dickens-conducted literary journal became self-supporting. This fact becomes even more remarkable when we consider Orvis' statement that the American edition of *Chambers' Journal* had approached the 10,000 mark after only three months of publication. For this failure the letters offer several reasons: it was partially a local work and not quite so interesting to an American as to an English reader; it had changed publishers too often; there was no legitimate arrangement between the English proprietors and the American publishers; it was sold at too high a price; it had been published by inexperienced people and therefore had not received proper publicity and promotion; and its lack of pictorial illustration made it unpopular with the masses.

Each one of these reasons, it seems to me, has some validity. *Household Words* was, unquestionably, partially a local work. Many of the social problems discussed in its pages were English problems; and much of the humor and picturesqueness of its more fanciful pieces appealed directly to the metropolitan Englishman. In *All the Year Round* this problem of localism was considerably overcome by the increased importance given to serialized fiction by well-known novelists. Although the fact of its having changed hands so often may be more a symptom than a disease, such a situation would tend to impair the confidence of the "high class of readers" towards which the magazine was directed in America. The lack of any agreement between the American publishers and the English proprietors would not, perhaps, be very instrumental in causing the failure of the journal—remember, for example, that the American edition of *All the Year Round* was a pirated one; however, the existence of some legitimate arrangement would have been of great advantage to the American pub-

[7] May 28, 1859. In *The Dickensian* (September, 1950), pp. 197-203, I have treated in some detail Dickens' success with *Household Words*, with some indication of its influence on the conduct of *All the Year Round*.

lishers in obtaining advance copy and in making Dickens more solicitous of occasional American matter for the magazine. The 1850's and '60's were marked by a strong trend towards the cheapest possible popular literature, competition forcing prices of weeklies lower and lower. Barker's letter quoted above is sufficient indication of the inexperienced hands into which *Household Words* had fallen. And although the lack of pictures in *Household Words* may have prevented some extension of its circulation among the "great mass" of readers, this fact does not seem to have handicapped *All the Year Round;* though here again the novel serials may have made inoperative what had formerly been a real need.

William E. Buckler

An Octavo Edition of "Poëmata" by Walter Haddon (1567)

What is probably an unique copy of an octavo edition of *Poëmata* (1567) by Walter Haddon (1516-1572) is in the possession of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Although the edition is listed in the Catalogue of the Library of Trinity College,[1] bibliographers and scholars who have discussed Haddon's life and works have apparently overlooked this copy for two reasons. First, for many years it has been bound in a volume with five other items containing Latin poetry and *sententiae* of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, and secondly, it bears a title very similar to that of the quarto edition of Haddon's *Poëmata,* issued also in 1567.[2]

Walter Haddon, doctor of civil law, was a man of considerable importance during the reigns of the last three Tudors: under Edward VI he was vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and, for a brief period, president of Magdalen College, Oxford; although somewhat under a cloud as a known Protestant in the reign of Mary, he served nevertheless as a member of Parliament and was appointed to the Court of Arches of the province of Canterbury; Elizabeth made him a Master of the Court of Requests and sent him on several diplomatic missions. His death in 1572 ended what might well have become a distinguished career as a statesman. He was also a Latinist sufficiently famous in his day to be

[1] It is listed erroneously as a 16mo.

[2] Number 12596 in A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England,* [*etc.*,] *1475-1640* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1926).

frequently quoted and translated, and to be cited whenever a defense of the "Neotericke" in Latin literature was the concern of such authors as Sir William Vaughan, Francis Meres, and Gabriel Harvey. Thomas Nashe, writing "To the Gentlemen Students of Both Vniversities," in his preface to Robert Greene's *Menaphon* (1589), describes Haddon as one "whose pen would haue challenged the Lawrell from *Homer*." While this is extravagant praise, it is indicative of the esteem in which Haddon was held in his own time. Among his works are: *Contra Hieron. Osorium, . . . Responsio Apologetica,* left unfinished and completed in 1577 by John Foxe; *Lucubrationes* and *Poëmata* (1567, quarto); and *Poëmatum . . . libri duo* (1576). Haddon collaborated with Sir John Cheke during the reign of Edward VI on the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.* However, this work was not published until 1560. He also had a hand in *Liber Precum Publicarum,* the Latinized version of the Prayer Book which Queen Elizabeth prescribed for use in the two universities and the colleges of Eton and Winchester.

Since Haddon was regarded by his contemporaries as the English Cicero for oratory and the equal of George Buchanan for Latin poetry, the discovery of a new edition of his poems should be of interest to bibliographers and to students of English humanism in the sixteenth century. (*"Buchananum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini postpono,"* replied the shrewd Queen Elizabeth when asked to choose between the two poets.) For little apparent reason except that of better preservation, the copy of the octavo edition of *Poëmata* was bound together with the other Latin paper-backed books in the following order: *Aesopi Fabulae* (1596) (*S.T.C.* 172); A defective Latin text of Terence (perhaps *S.T.C.* 23887); *Psalmi aliquot Davidici* (as *S.T.C.* 2365, but dated 1619, possibly an unrecorded edition); Willis Timothy, *Propositiones tentationum* (1615) (*S.T.C.* 25753); Walter Haddon, *Poëmata aliquot* (1567); *Sententiae pueriles,* lacking title page and not identified.[3] (Only the complete signature C remains. Apparently this was the last signature of an octavo volume containing three gatherings or a total of twenty-four folios.)

The Haddon *Poëmata* is a badly cropped octavo of twenty-four leaves numbered from pages 2-46, with the page numbering commencing on signature A_2. It measures three inches by five inches in its present state. The signatures are inconsistently numbered: signature A is gathered and

[3] For this and a great deal of the following information I am indebted to Mr. H. W. Parke, Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin.

numbered in eights, but signatures B and C are gathered in eights and, peculiarly, numbered as sixteens.[4] In all three signatures the chain lines are vertical; thus, the original miscataloguing as a 16mo was probably the result of the cropping and the numbering of the last two signatures as sixteens. There are several scribblings on the title page in youthful sixteenth or seventeenth-century hands, which suggests that this, and perhaps the other items with which it has been bound up, were once used as textbooks by schoolboys, a reasonable inference from the nature of the contents of all six volumes. As a result of the cropping, the inscriptions are at points illegible, but one owner appears to have been a "Richard Wright," whose name is lined out at the top of the page and occurs again in a sentence near the middle: "This is Rich. Wryghts Bok." A badly scribbled date which seems to be 1614 appears in the middle of the page. The name of "Henry Francklyn" is written at several points, and at the bottom of the page is a sentence which runs: "this booke is Henry Fr[ancklyn's] the which is caled the [poems of?] doctor Hadon. . . ."

The full title page reads: "*D. GVALTERI* | *HADDONI,* | *SERENISSIMAE Reginae* | *ELIZABETHAE* | *à supplicum libel-* | *lis, Pöemata* | *aliquot.* | LONDINI, | Apud Gulielmum Seresium. | 1567." William Seres in the same year published a quarto edition of Haddon's *Poëmata.* This was bound up with Haddon's *Lucubrationes* but had its own title page: "*D. GUALTERI HAD-* | *DONI, LEGVM DOCTO-* | *ris, serenissimae reginae Elisabethae* | *à supplicum libellis, Pöemata, studio* | *& labore Thomae Hatcheri* | *Cantabrigiensis sparsim* | *collecta, & edita.* | LONDINI, APVD | Gulielmum Seresium. | 1567." The octavo is apparently the only surviving copy of a cheaper edition of some of Haddon's poems selected from among those printed in the carefully edited quarto, which is an example of fine printing and must have been a rather expensive volume.

With one slight difference in arrangement and the omission of the poem "Oratio Dominica," the octavo reprints with unusual fidelity, even with regard to punctuation and orthography, the first fifty-three pages of the quarto. The poems are chiefly paraphrases from the Bible and St. Augustine, along with some versified pious and moral reflections. The complete list of titles of poems included in the octavo edition indicates the nature of the contents: a prefatory poem in elegiacs entitled "Gualterus Haddonus pio lectori," "Oratio Iesu Christi, . . . Math. V," "Epistola

[4] This discrepancy is the result of omitting the even numbers in signatures B and C. Thus, signature B_1 appears on page 15, B_3 on page 17, *etc.* C_8 is the last signed folio.

Sancti Iacobi," "Precatio Manassis Regis Israelitarum captiui," "Psalmus Dauidis. XXXIIII," "Psalmus Dauidis. CIII," "Precatio ex Psalmo. XXXI," "Ex Propheta Iob," "Disciplina Christianorum morum. Tobiae. 4." Next there are four prayers paraphrased from St. Augustine, which are followed by "De vindicta diuina," "Quibus rebus consistat vera precatio," "De ratione rectè constituendae vitae," "Contra Euangelicorum hostes, Precatio." Elegiacs addressed to Sir Nicholas Bacon and didactic verses entitled "Hominum aetates" conclude the collection.

Except for the lines addressed to Bacon, none of Haddon's epigrams or epistles to members of his political and academic circle is included; apparently the edition was prepared for pious readers who wanted verses on religious themes and were not interested in the literary relationships of contemporary figures.

Lawrence V. Ryan

Book Reviews

Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. Edited by Fredson Bowers. Vol. III, 1950-1951. Charlottesville, Virginia, 1950. Plates, facsimiles. 10 x 6¾ inches. Paper. $5.00; $4.50 to members.

By this time, bibliographers and students of English and American literature have learned to look forward with pleasant anticipation to the annual volume of *Studies in Bibliography,* sponsored by the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia and edited by Professor Fredson Bowers. They will not be disappointed by its third appearance; the 1950-1951 volume is larger and more varied than its predecessors, while the previous standard of excellence and interest is fully maintained.

The *Studies* begins with a series of four papers read before the meeting of the English Institute in 1949, all bearing from different angles on the theme of editorial problems. Professor R. C. Bald presents an eloquent statement of the position of the textual scholar; neither defensive nor apologetic (attitudes too often adopted in rebuttal of the extremist school of new critics), he gives a calm and convincing statement of the central importance of textual studies. We cannot criticize unless we know precisely what it is that we are talking about: a truism, perhaps, but one which never needed restatement more often or more forcibly than today.

Sir Walter Greg then takes up the subject by discussing the criteria according to which the editor is to select a basic text from the several which may be available to him, and the methods to be employed in handling it. At the same time he gives us a fascinating fragment of editorial autobiography, telling how his own views have developed and changed. Greg has championed the restoration of editorial judgment and has led the revolt against the mechanical application of editorial rules. But surely he has gone too far in another direction when he advocates that editorial emendations and readings derived from other (later) sources "should be made to conform to the habitual spelling of the copy-text." Pursued with skill and moderation, such a policy may produce valid results; but in less experi-

enced hands than Greg's it may produce the most curious and misleading fictions. It is certainly a practice that should be approached and applied with extreme caution.

Professor Bowers next comes forward to discuss "Some Relations of Bibliography to Editorial Problems." Bowers is concerned with the establishment of a proper division of function between the editor and the bibliographer, and with the aid of numerous practical examples he shows how the work of one strengthens the work of the other—and conversely, how one may go astray without the other. It is perhaps an index of the vitality of the Virginia *Studies* that Bowers has been able to cite so many examples from the pages of its earlier volumes. In the last of the four English Association papers, Professor Archibald A. Hill presents a closely-reasoned textual theory in "Some Postulates for Distributional Study of Texts." Hill's paper is mainly of interest to classical and medieval scholars, as few of the problems it involves will concern students of sixteenth-century and later literatures.

The other articles contain a highly varied fare. Curt F. Bühler examines the variants of Caxton's *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (1483) and *Fayttes of Armes* (1489), neither of which had hitherto been subjected to a proper bibliographical analysis. Ernst Kyriss discusses bookbindings of the twelfth to eighteenth centuries in the libraries of Prague, with notes on the identifiable shops and craftsmen, and rubbings of characteristic tools and stamps. Professor Charlton Hinman announces the discovery in the Folger Shakespeare Library of a third proof-sheet from the First Folio of Shakespeare, and defines the current state of knowledge concerning the proof-reading of that book. Rollo G. Silver recounts the entertaining history of the printers' lobby of 1802 which successfully fought Binny & Ronaldson's attempt to secure a virtual monopoly through tariff regulations of the type-founding business in the United States. J. Albert Robbins presents a check-list and index of hitherto unrecorded poems by James Kirke Paulding.

C. William Miller catalogues and reproduces the ornament-stock of Thomas Newcomb as a "good starting point in the large and tantalizingly complicated study of printers' ornaments in the Commonwealth and Post-Restoration periods." William B. Todd takes up once again the vexed question of press-figures in eighteenth-century books. Although he is somewhat less than fair in his interpretation of the work of one or two previous scholars in the field, his own hypothesis seems reasonable enough. Briefly, he holds that in books containing press-figures the unfigured gath-

erings are understood to have been printed by the same press as the last preceding figured gathering; and further, that two figures in a single gathering (one in each forme) indicate that the printing was done "full press" (*i.e.*, two workmen at the press), while a single figure in a gathering indicates work at "half press." A single brief and clear statement by a printer of the period would doubtless resolve the mystery of press-figures, but no such statement has survived. Meantime, it is obvious that the last word on the subject has not been said; only the patient gathering and evaluation of vast quantities of evidence, more evidence than has yet been compiled, will supply this want.

Perhaps the finest example in the volume of sheer bibliographical ingenuity is Philip Williams's "Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida:* The Relationship of Quarto and Folio." Proceeding from purely typographical evidence Williams supplies a definitive solution to the much-debated problem, proving that the First Folio text was set up from a copy of the 1609 quarto, thus establishing the proper basis for the text. His demonstration is a model of neatness and economy.

As usual, the section of "Bibliographica" ranges over the whole field of bibliography and its relation to literary studies, from L. M. Oliver's account of Thomas Drue's *Duchess of Suffolk* to Irby L. Cauthen on Poe's *Alone*. Among other subjects, Restoration and eighteenth-century drama, the Aitken Bible, and the early casting of Scotch type in America come in for their share of attention. The volume closes with the useful "Selective Checklist of Bibliographical Scholarship for 1949," compiled by Rudolf Hirsch, Lucy Clark, and the editor.

W. H. Bond

Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, Vol. I, Part II. Edited by Bruce Dickins and A. N. L. Munby. Cambridge, Bowes & Bowes, 1950. 10½ x 7¼ inches. Annual subscription, 21 shillings.

This second annual issue of the *Transactions* is not quite so substantial in its contents as was Part I; nevertheless, it maintains a more than respectable average and attests (as does the growing membership list and the account of the Society's activities) to a most desirable spreading-out of the Society's interests and influence. As before, the editorial policy is to emphasize studies of books and manuscripts which have some Cambridge connection. The diversity of subjects and treatment found in more general bibliographical journals is not, therefore, to be expected.

However, within the Society's purpose to exploit the rich mine of material awaiting study in the Cambridge colleges, various good things are to be found here. The number opens with an interesting informal account by R. A. B. Mynors of a Dutch scribe, attendant on William Gray in his European travels and finally in England, reconstructed from the manuscripts chiefly at Cambridge, together with an account of the various hands which this T. Werken learned to write. R. W. Hunt reprints from various sources the "Medieval Inventories of Clare College Library," and examines the reasons for the early dispersal of the books. In "*The Trewe Encountre:* A Pamphlet on Flodden Field," J. C. T. Oates describes Richard Faques's earliest English news-pamphlet and traces the history of the known copies. A. I. Doyle examines in some detail the previously unrecorded earliest printed edition (1598-99) of the Statutes of Pembroke College.

The most extensive section is devoted to a descriptive bibliography by Margaret Flower of the writings of Thomas Stanley printed between 1647 and 1743. A considerable amount of investigation seems to have gone into the provenance of copies, which are listed although without indication which the compiler has seen and which were reported. Title-transcriptions, collations, contents-lists, and notes are provided. Technically the work exhibits a rather old-fashioned method and is quite untouched by the Greg formulary, which would have made reference much easier, for example, between the contents list and the confusing collational formula for the *Poems and Translations* of 1647. The examination of the books does not seem to have gone very deep bibliographically. For instance, the unsigned leaf prefixed to Section II ($^{2}A^{4}$) of this 1647 volume might just possibly be the conjugate or detached final leaf $^{1}C8$ of the preceding section, listed as "? blank lacking." The possibility, at least, was worth investigating, even though only a negative answer could be provided. It is a serious fault that this anomalous leaf is not listed in the general collational formula for the volume, so that this formula is not accurate in terms of the later description of one of its parts.

In the 1651 *Poems* Miss Fannie Ratchford reported that a sheet of the Wrenn copy was wrongly turned in passing through the press; as a result, the verso of p. 95 carries the text of p. 100, etc., although there is no error in pagination. This statement is quoted without comment or clarification. Yet if it is true that the text of p. 100 on the verso of p. 95 is actually paged 96, etc., Miss Ratchford's explanation for a turned sheet will not hold and the error must have been one of imposition, later cor-

rected. On the other hand, if the ambiguous remark about the lack of error in the pagination means only that p. 100 (backing p. 95) is correctly paged 100 for its text, and *not* 95, Mrs. Flower might well have made the exact situation clearer.

Throughout there is a certain vagueness about detail, as in the failure to identify the engraved portrait of Gamble in the 1657 *Ayres* either as the original leaf transferred from the first issue, or as a later processing of the same plate, or as a different engraving. We are informed that one leaf is missing from preliminary gathering of the British Museum copy of No. 13, vol. IV, but not which precise leaf. Second-hand information is reproduced without further investigation. Mrs. Flower quotes W. A. Jackson on the possibility that the Gamble portrait was originally conjugate with sig. b1 in the Harvard copy of the first issue, but she is not precise about the evidence of the two BM copies, which she must have seen. Similarly, no attempt is made to confirm by further investigation the Pforzheimer *Catalogue*'s ascription of the printing of the 1651 *Poems* to Roger Norton.

In the method of technical description there are some curious features. The format of the book is given immediately under the title-transcript instead of in connection with the collational formula where it belongs, and is thus effectively concealed. Later issues are given separate headings and sometimes full descriptions, although the format is then omitted completely so that back reference is necessary for the curious but forgetful. A double slant is used to mark the end of each title-transcription, a redundant marking (new to me) which conflicts with at least three other accepted uses of these double bars. Inconsistent usage appears in such places as the collation for Section I of the 1647 *Poems* in which, though the leaf has immediately before been properly referred to as "C8," with the figure on the line to indicate it is the leaf and not the gathering, the following statement "(C^8 ?blank lacking)" with its superior figure literally translated should mean that all eight leaves of C are lacking, which is false. An appreciation of the logic of Greg's formulary proposals would have prevented single leaves from being collated as "a^1" and would have modified such clumsy formulas as Aaaaaaa-Zzzzzzz^2 immediately succeeded by 8A-8Z^2, in a futile attempt to reproduce in the collational formula, where it has no proper place, the exact system employed by the printer. If this logic were carried to its ultimate conclusions, we should have formulas reproducing black-letter signatures in appropriate books, or a fruitless attempt to reproduce occasional italic signings.

In a brief note John Dreyfus usefully identifies and reproduces Baskerville's ornaments. In the notes section concluding the volume H. S. Bennett identifies two leaves of printer's waste as part of an unrecorded Sarum Book of Hours, 1526. J. B. Oldham reproduces and comments on a new addition to the panels used by Cambridge binders. A. N. L. Munby investigates the "banded bindings" of Silvanus Chirm in the late eighteenth century and his successor George Herdsfield, and in another note writes of the equipment and of the books bound privately at the house of William Windham the elder in the mid-eighteenth century. R. J. L. Kingsford issues a brief proposal for a revised edition of Straus and Dent's bibliography of Baskerville. Bruce Dickins gathers together and reprints the list of stationers made free of the City of London in 1551-52.

With the exception of the Stanley bibliography, which is amateurish work, these articles and notes exhibit the same careful and painstaking scholarship, no doubt assisted by the editors, which marked last year's initial volume. As before, the issue is handsomely printed at the University Press.

FREDSON BOWERS

LEHMANN-HAUPT, HELLMUT. *Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim and Mainz; with a list of his surviving books and broadsides.* Rochester, N. Y., Printing House of L. Hart, 1950. [Device]. xv, 146 pp. Plates, maps, facsims. 9½ x 6¼ inches. $5.00. (The Printers' Valhalla).

The present book, the fourth in the Printers' Valhalla Series, is a valuable contribution to the early history of printing; it possesses especial interest for those who wish to know more about the life and career of one of the truly great figures associated with earliest typography. The author devotes his introductory chapter to the known facts of Peter Schoeffer's life; the subsequent chapter headings, "Calligrapher and Type Designer"; "Book Designer and Printer"; "Publisher and Newsprinter"; and "Bookseller, Merchant, Citizen" indicate how the subject is treated. The text is followed by a list including 253 entries of the books and broadsides which Schoeffer printed in Mainz between 1457-1502. Numerous textual illustrations and an extensive appendix of 19 well-chosen plates admirably supplement the text.

In explaining the need for the present volume Dr. Lehmann-Haupt has pointed out that in spite of the universal familiarity which the name of Peter Schoeffer enjoys, practically nothing is available in print about the

real and enduring contributions which he made to the craft so nobly developed and enriched by him. No one knows how important a rôle he played in aiding Gutenberg, but we do know that he was associated with the inventor in 1455; we know that Schoeffer at that time was most probably about 30 years of age, or roughly one-half as old as Gutenberg; and we also know from the books which Schoeffer later produced that he well understood this new craft. Unlike Gutenberg, whom we know primarily through adversity, his younger colleague seems to have had a prosperous career; unlike Gutenberg, his name appears in the majority of the books he designed, printed, published and sold. And it is through his books that we know most about him. In the present book the author endeavors to show that the close relationship between Schoeffer and Johannes Fust, whose daughter he married shortly after the death of her father, was essentially a business association. Fust's name invariably appears as the entrepreneur in conjunction with that of Schoeffer's rather than as an actual printer. Schoeffer, however, in the 1468 edition of Justinian's *Institutiones* deferentially refers to the two Johns as having preceded him in the practice of the art, although he feels he has superseded them as a typecutter. This he may well have done, as Dr. Lehmann-Haupt carefully points out in his discussion of Schoeffer's types. There seems little doubt that through his early experience as a calligrapher and as a maker of manuscript books at Paris Schoeffer's knowledge of the forms of letters was intimate and influenced the types which he designed. The illustrations chosen by the author for this section of his book could not have been better chosen.

Not the least important feature of Lehmann-Haupt's study is what well may prove to be a definitive list of the books printed by Schoeffer, first in association with Fust and later alone. The list, arranged in a dated and an undated grouping, derives in large part from manuscript records made by the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke and happily preserved from destruction during the recent war. The analysis of this list within the text indicates that as a printer Schoeffer was essentially conservative in the selection of his publications, illustrated by the numerous editions of Psalters and Missals and the expensive publications in the field of canon law. One particularly revealing feature is the presence in this list of numerous broadsides and ephemeral sheets, many of which being newsworthy must be regarded as forerunners of the newspaper; others were indulgences the sale of which the printing press undoubtedly stimulated.

There are other features of this well-rounded book which deserve attention: the making of the Psalters of 1457 and 1459; the manifold func-

tions of the fifteenth-century printer so well exemplified by Schoeffer, including that of bookseller; the continuous activity of Schoeffer as a printer for nearly fifty years until his death in 1502; and the many important contributions which Schoeffer made to the development of typography.

The author's style makes for entertaining reading; the presentation is uncomplicated and the main text is not burdened with footnotes; the typography is pleasing; and the book fulfills its intention of satisfying "those who are interested in the art of the printer and the history of his craft."

FREDERICK R. GOFF

First Annual Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library. [By] Frederick B. Adams, Jr. New York, November, 1950. 68 pp. illus. 300 copies printed for the Fellows.

The first annual report of a librarian, or as in this case, a director, is scanned by scholars, bookmen, and other librarians with more than usual interest. What is to be the success of the library during the régime of the new guiding spirit? The new head of a small specialized library can have a more immediate effect for good or bad on his institution than the head of a large research library. In this case, everyone can rest assured that the Pierpont Morgan Library is still in good hands.

The Trustees of the Library faced the almost impossible task of replacing Belle Da Costa Greene, a great personality with a knowledge of early books and manuscripts second to no one in this country. With the backing of J. Pierpont Morgan, Sr., and Jr., she built well. The Trustees showed real imagination in selecting an official of the Air Reduction Corporation. The new Director has broken new ground. From now on the Pierpont Morgan Library needs help from outside to continue its growth, and this report is a tribute to the Director's ability to attract that aid and also to the many intelligent men and women who annually support some of our fine libraries.

It is to be regretted that this report was distributed only to the Fellows. For the many scholars who cannot afford to belong to that select circle I list some of the outstanding acquisitions of the year: A Provençal Grammar, 13th century; A Physiologus, or Bestiary, written in Austria in Latin in the 12th century; The Bowerswell Papers, some 600 letters, the most interesting of which may be Ruskin's love letters to Effie Gray; the celebrated Rome Bible, printed in 1471; a number of first editions of the

classics, works of Epictetus, Arrianus, Marcus Aurelius, and others; the first installment of Mr. A. Reginald Allen's remarkable collection of Gilbert and Sullivan; and finally, along with a number of important early drawings, the complete series of twelve original watercolor designs for Milton's "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" by William Blake. The Library added during the year many other important books and manuscripts, and the new acquisitions largely add to strength; that is, early books and manuscripts, drawings, and 19th-century English and American literary manuscripts. The Library has also installed microphotographic equipment.

The good workman sticks to his last. This the Director of the Pierpont Morgan Library should always keep in mind. If he does, he will be the envy of all librarians of large research institutions who try unsuccessfully to encompass all knowledge. His Library will thus maintain its pre-eminence in the scholarly world.

JAMES T. BABB

Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 1950. Begründet und herausgegeben von Aloys Ruppel. Mainz, Verlag der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1950. 444 pp., illus., plates, facsims. 11 x 8 inches. DM25.

This edition of the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, a "Festschrift zum 50jährigen Bestehen des Gutenberg-Museums in Mainz," also marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Yearbook itself. The institute has been very productive over these years, and its publications have consistently attempted to maintain a high standard of scholarship and criticism. The *Festschriften*, twenty-six miscellaneous publications, forty-three "Kleine Drucke," and its yearbooks represent an enviable achievement in presenting the history and art of printing and its allied crafts on an international scale. In his introduction Dr. Ruppel restates the aims of the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft and asks for the encouragement and support of all printers and followers of the book arts to whom Gutenberg's invention gave "work, bread and honor." An honest art may still exist as a unifying influence in the midst of all ideologies and transcend all boundaries.

The format and printing of the 1950 edition of the Yearbook, as supervised by Hermann Zapf, are good; Roman "Palatino" type was used for the text and capital "Michelangelo" for the title-page and initials. Ernst Rehbein's paper and parchment binding combines with the institute's water-marked paper to give the appearance of a substantial and well-made book.

Fifty-eight articles are grouped under eight headings: *Schrift, Papiergeschichte, Vorstufen der Typographie, Die Frühdruckzeit, Von 1500-1900, Moderne Druckkunst, Einband,* and *Verschiedenes.* Of these, nine are in English, six in Italian, five in French, one in Spanish and the others in German. The first two sections cover such subjects as the use of graphic signs from the Egyptian hieroglyphic to modern times; palimpsest manuscripts; regional watermarks; paper-making by hand in America (by Dard Hunter); the inadequate treatment of the subject of paper in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German encyclopaedias; and upper Danubian ream covers and their watermarks. Four articles make up the third section. There are two on the *Ars Moriendi.* The third is a description of the subject content of the copperplate print in China from the tenth to the nineteenth centuries, while the fourth discusses letterpress inscriptions on fifteenth-century bookbindings.

The Incunabula section contains material on Gutenberg's printing technique and his justification of the right margin; his type metal; the old question as to whether he was the inventor of printing; a discussion of Heinrich Keffer as the possible printer of the 36-line Bible in Mainz; Dutch claims to the invention of printing; the 1457 *Psalterium Moguntinum;* Schoeffer's initials; unique Spanish incunabula in the Huntington Library; Mainz and Esslingen incunabula; and the *Vita Lidwinae.*

A wide variety of subject matter, well arranged and edited, is dealt with in the fifth section, *Von 1500-1900.* Here are notes on Gottlob Breitkopf and music typography; Tibetan wood block printing, still extensively practiced; Spanish editions of Erasmus during the reign of Charles V;[1] John Bagford; the Bremer Presse; Ugo da Carpi, book illustrator; Marseille and Zürich printing.

Three articles treat of bookbinding: "Ein Buch aus der Bibliothek Ulrich Fuggers" (the book in question being a volume of poems by the Italian poet Hieronymus Vida); "Begegnungen mit Grolier"; and notes on G. D. Hobson. Printing "aesthetics"; the satiric treatment of printing with verses and illustrations from the fifteenth century to the present times; trade marks as symbols; and Swedish apprenticeship training make up the miscellaneous section. Dr. Ruppel's survey of the fifty years of the Gutenberg-Museum and the 1949-50 report of the Gesellschaft and a list of its publications complete the content of the 1950 Yearbook.

[1] Srta. Cuesta Gutiérrez, not Guttiérez, as incorrectly given in the contents and title.

The annual fee for membership in the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft is six dollars. It may not be amiss to suggest to those interested in printing as history, art and craft, that this fee, entitling members to all of the institute's publications, would be well invested.

CAROLYN READING

BOHATTA, HANNS, and FRANZ HODES. *Internationale Bibliographie der Bibliographien, ein Nachschlagewerk, unter Mitwirkung von Walther Funke.* Frankfurt am Main, Vittorio Klostermann, 1950. 652 pp. 10¾ x 7½ inches. Published in parts: 1-5, 1939-40; 6, 1944; 7/8, 1950.

The Second World War and certain other unfavorable circumstances beset the preparation and publication of Bohatta's international bibliography of bibliographies. In the summer of 1939, the initial part was published. Bohatta, then well over seventy years of age, had Walther Funke as his active collaborator. The fifth part was dated 1940. Franz Hodes then replaced Funke. The sixth part appeared in 1944. Bohatta died on October 23, 1947. The final double part was published in 1950.

The volume is divided into two main sections: general and national bibliography, and subject bibliography. A separate volume devoted to personal bibliography had been planned, since the continuation of Arnim's *Personalbibliographie* seemed uncertain.

National bibliography is grouped first by continent, then alphabetically by country, and finally under country alphabetically by place, province, state, etc.

Subject bibliography is arranged in three great groups. First is theology and religion. Next are the "Geistes- und Kulturwissenschaften," with nine broad subdivisions in alphabetical order. The third group of the exact, natural and applied sciences is arranged alphabetically under fourteen branches.

No distinction has been made between bibliographies in separate book form and those appearing as articles in serial publications and collections. Although the brief preface mentions the especial value placed upon the listing of previously unknown foreign works, its principal utility for an American user would seem to be the indication of many European titles, probably not always otherwise to be located easily. Even here, the lack of annotation, possibly due to wartime stringency, may leave the user somewhat at sea, in the absence of access to large or specialized collections.

Continued use alone can be the measure for determining the merits of Bohatta's international bibliography of bibliographies.

JAMES B. CHILDS

SCHULLIAN, DOROTHY M., and FRANCIS E. SOMMER. *A Catalogue of Incunabula and Manuscripts in the Army Medical Library.* New York, Published for the Honorary Consultants to the Army Medical Library by Henry Schuman, Inc., [1950]. xiii, 361 pp. Plates. 10¼ x 7 inches. $15.00.

GNUDI, MARTHA TEACH, and JEROME PIERCE WEBSTER. *The Life and Times of Gaspare Tagliacozzi, Surgeon of Bologna, 1545-1599, With a Documented Study of the Scientific and Cultural Life of Bologna in the Sixteenth Century.* Preface by Arturo Castiglioni. New York, Herbert Reichner, [1950]. xxiv, 538 pp. Plates. 11 x 7¼ inches. $15.00.

The *Catalogue of Incunabula and Manuscripts in the Army Medical Library* is a somewhat expanded check-list of that Library's magnificent holdings of 490 incunabula, 35 Western manuscripts before 1501, and 137 Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Singhalese and Hebrew (one only) manuscripts (of which 46 are dated or judged to be of the 16th Century or earlier and 91 of the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries). Actually, a good many more individual works are included, since no inconsiderable number appear as "additions" to the main titles cited. The purpose of the publication is to bring "this substantial body of primary source materials" to the attention of scholars who may be interested in their study. While the great majority of the holdings had already been listed elsewhere, it is useful to have a centralized record of this immensely valuable collection.

The explanatory preface by Max Fisch, the graceful introduction to the incunabula and Western manuscript sections by Dorothy Schullian, and that to the oriental manuscripts by Francis Sommer outline the circumstances of publication, give brief histories of these collections, and stress particularly the importance of such source material to modern workers in the medical field. It is a source of vast regret, however, that the "exigencies of time" prevented the compilation of a subject index to this treasure-house of early works. Such a key would have been a vital contribution to our existing tools for dealing with ancient and medieval science. The present listing adds comparatively little new information to our knowledge of this literature, save for details about the Army Medical Library's indi-

vidual copies and a few additional titles not previously known to be in that Library. For those titles already listed by Hain-Copinger and Reichling, Klebs, Stillwell, and others, little beside identifying data is included, though for works not covered by those lists, more details are supplied. But the crying need is for clues to the contents of these early writings. This was the ideal towards which Klebs was working and for which his check-list was but the fore-runner. We hope that opportunity will eventually be afforded for this wealth of material to be adequately indexed by subject in a companion volume to this *Catalogue*. Such a book would be a real milestone in the study of early medical science.

The luxurious format of the volume is impressive in size and convenient to use. The numerous painstaking notes, the result of infinite study and erudition, form the main contribution of the book. It is questionable, however, whether the space given to many of them is wholly justified: "back board split vertically"; "some worming"; "mended at corners"; "ink-spots," etc.—this sort of information is of far less value than brief collations would have been, and what a boon they would have meant to the many scholars who cannot own the great bibliographical tools for incunabula and manuscripts on which the present volume rests for its main descriptions! The translations of marginal notes—while of interest, certainly—cannot have the significance they would have with the original text at hand. The use of capitals or some typographical means of distinguishing titles from the surrounding text would have been helpful: as the title cross references now stand, they are more or less buried. Quotations of matter in notes and from stamped information would have been clearer if indicated by quotation marks in all cases, instead of having no indication but an initial capital in the first case and all capitals in the second. On the other hand, the *Catalogue* does make good short cross references from the "additional" titles to the place of the main citation.

Indexes to incidental names and to dates cited, and to printers and places of publication, add to the ease of consultation, though unfortunately in the case of the Western manuscripts, some of the names in citations of contents failed to be included in the index (Galen p. 232, Serapion p. 251, Simon of Genoa p. 251). A concordance of Klebs', Stillwell's, and this *Catalogue*'s identification numbers is a useful adjunct. Occasional reproductions of sample pages and bindings make graphic the unique value of these early landmarks in medicine. But for a library to produce a book for scholars and other libraries which bears no date of publication is a sad

anomaly—particularly when the volume itself cites entry after entry for which it can give no date.

All in all, this book is a significant reminder that the Army Medical Library possesses a rich mine of original sources which will well repay the study of scholars, not only in the medical field, but in those of early printing and orientalia.

In contrast with this catalogue enumerating the works of the many contributors to medicine of the Renaissance and before, *The Life and Times of Gaspare Tagliacozzi* furnishes all that is likely ever to be known of the work of a single man, the "father of plastic surgery," who lived from 1545 to 1599. It is the fruit of meticulous research through early documents, inscriptions, and printed volumes, bringing forth new data, correcting and aligning the old, and presenting a total picture, replete with all possible detail, of this early surgeon, his background, family, friends, students, colleagues, accomplishments, honors, followers, and effects on posterity. The collaboration of the two authors is well balanced. The experienced skill of Dr. Webster, plastic surgeon and self-adopted son of Tagliacozzi, has made possible a clear recognition and presentation of the latter's scientific significance, while Mrs. Gnudi's classical training, her work as a student and teacher of Italian, and her warm feeling for Italy's history and people have supplied the local color and liaison with the time and place in which Tagliacozzi lived.

The wealth of collateral information which is furnished seems at times a little overwhelming till one realizes that, while the central figure of the portrayal is the focal point, the actual result of this massive effort is the delineation of plastic surgery's development stemming from Tagliacozzi as its earliest recognizable parent. Since so much additional material was being provided, it would have been helpful to have had a bit more of the immediate history of Sixteenth-Century Italy, its devastating wars that led to the loss of so many noses which Tagliacozzi could replace, the reasons for the power of the papacy and its fluctuations—Tagliacozzi's father could have witnessed the woeful sack of Rome—and those political ferments whose lurid background is hard to surmise from the studious atmosphere here portrayed. Also, a sketch-map of Italy would have helped to visualize the popular surgeon's many comings and goings. It is unseemly, however, to ask for more when the authors have been so generous: a chapter on Bologna shows its medieval aspects; early university life is described;

each individual mentioned has been identified and his achievements noted —in fact, the volume can serve as a fount of biographical information for Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Bologna, the surgeons, students, professors, patrons of science, and many of their relations.

As can be expected from the bountiful extra details supplied, those on the main figure are exhaustive. Much new material from original documents has been unearthed about Tagliacozzi, long standing errors corrected, and a clear, comprehensive chronology of his life laid down once and for all. Myths that have grown up about him have been scotched, and his lasting contributions to anatomy, and above all, to plastic surgery, have been defined for all time. The resulting whole, a mass of minutiae studied, verified, correlated, is a model of historical research, though reflecting inevitably the eulogistic attitude of those times. Copious footnotes, appendices reproducing in full the original documents cited, and Alexander Read's translation of much of Tagliacozzi's book, a comprehensive bibliography and index provide the student's adjuncts.

It is strange that with the immensity of detail given, Tagliacozzi's own personality is so elusive. There is actually little on which to base an intimate knowledge of him: a few phrases from his book, *De curtorum chirurgia*, 1597, wishing it "may be of some value to my fellow men"; his solicitude for his patient in seeking to allay pain where possible and in protecting him from uneasiness at the sight of fearsome instruments; his kindness in helping his former student; the affection borne him by his friends and patrons—all help to make him something of a real person behind the wall of adulation built up by inscriptions and the formal funeral oration. The emphasis throughout is on what Tagliacozzi *did*, rather than on what he *was:* it must necessarily be so, for the extant records are chiefly the record of his achievements and little or none of the man himself.

This work of love has been fittingly ensconced in a royal octavo volume. An example of fine Italian printing by the Tipografia Luigi Parma, it is adorned with many reproductions of paintings, engravings and woodcuts (including all the twenty-two from the original edition of the *De curtorum chirurgia*) and bound in workmanlike buckram by L. degli Esposti in Bologna. Charming pictorial initial letters incorporating scenes from Bologna or from Tagliacozzi's surgery have been especially designed for it by Ivan Summers, those in a few choice copies lending a sumptuous effect by being impressed in red. The book is a beautiful piece of typography, a valuable contribution to historical research, but it is distinctly not a volume for reading in bed.

JANET DOE

HUMPHRY, JAMES, III, *comp. The Library of Edwin Arlington Robinson: A Descriptive Catalogue.* Waterville, Maine, Colby College Press, 1950. [viii], 52 pp. 7 x 4½ inches. $3.00. [Colby College Monographs No. 19.]

The literary reputation of Edwin Arlington Robinson varies from time to time, but bibliographically speaking, he has been well treated by W. Van R. Whitall in Lloyd Morris's volume (New York, George H. Doran, 1923, pp. 83-112); Lucius Beebe and Robert J. Bulkley, Jr. (Cambridge, Mass., Dunster House Bookshop, 1931, 59 pp.); Lillian Lippincott (Boston, F. W. Faxon, 1937, 86 pp.); and especially Charles Beecher Hogan (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1936, 221 pp., supplemented in the PAPERS of this Society, XXXV: 115-144 [1941]. The latest contribution to Robinson bibliography is a list of books in his library, now housed in Colby College.

Compiled by James Humphry, III, Colby Librarian, the attractively printed catalogue cites 308 titles alphabetically by author. Besides the author and title, there are given the city, publisher, date and (for 102 items) the page numbers where references occur in Hermann Hagedorn's *Edwin Arlington Robinson: A Biography* (New York, Macmillan, 1938); James L. Tryon's privately printed pamphlet *Harvard Days with Edwin Arlington Robinson* (Waterville, Maine, 1940); Esther Willard Bates's *Edwin Arlington Robinson and His Manuscripts* (Colby, 1944); and Denham Sutcliffe's *Untriangulated Stars: Letters of Edwin Arlington Robinson to Harry de Forest Smith, 1890-1905* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947). Thus, it will appear that, with one exception (Bryant's *Library of Poetry and Song*), the "descriptive" part of the catalogue is extremely meagre. Indeed, if one looks up the note to both *Merchant of Venice* and *Hamlet* (Bates, p. 15), he finds a passing reference to Shakespeare. It would have been more helpful, even in this limited sphere, to refer readers to four more important books than the brief Bates and Tryon essays: *Selected Letters of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, Macmillan, 1940); Estelle Kaplan's *Philosophy in the Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940);[1] Yvor Winter's *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (Norfolk, Conn., New Directions, [1946]); and Emery Neff's *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, William Sloane Associates, 1948).

[1] Of 16 authors she mentions in her few remarks on Robinson's readings, only four are now represented in the library.

The brief Preface, seven pages on "Robinson and His Books," interesting as far as it goes, leaves out much that should be explained and is more provoking than informative. There is some explanation for missing authors whom Robinson must have read—for, as Mr. Humphry quotes Dr. Tryon, "most of the books that [Robinson] used he owned"—yet not nearly enough. Reasons for the absence of Hardy are noted, but nothing on Arnold, Tennyson, and Swinburne—E.A.R.'s favorite poets, according to Mr. Humphry's preface. Far more provocative still than the failure to suggest why there is no Carlyle, George Eliot, Edward FitzGerald, and Meredith—all of whom Robinson read and knew—is the unanswered question: what of writings by Robinson himself? Only one such book shows up in the library: *Selections from the Letters of Thomas Sergeant Perry*, edited with an introduction by Robinson (New York, Macmillan, 1929); in addition to Lloyd Morris's *The Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, Doran, 1923); and Mark Van Doren's *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, The Literary Guild, 1927).

There is carelessness in handling material in the preface: the quotation from the letter to Harry de Forest Smith (p. 7) is really from two letters separated by two months and seven letters, and is undocumented (it is from Sutcliffe, pp. 207, 221); the "book of Wordsworth" (p. 7) is actually *The Excursion;* Hagedorn was published in 1938, not 1939 (p. 9). On p. 52, one reference to Wordsworth is cited in Sutcliffe; there are, in all, seven (pp. 96, 145, 206, 207, 210, 221, 222); two references to Hardy in Sutcliffe are, instead, listed under Mrs. Hardy, and 23 other references in the same book are omitted, as are four references to Emerson and three to Hazlitt, among others. These are, perhaps, minor shortcomings. Slightly more serious is the fact that Bates, p. 31n, says, "Also in the Colby Library is a copy of *Charles Dickens: A Critical Study*, by G. K. Chesterton, New York, Dodd Mead & Co., 1907, purchased by Robinson in 1908"; Mr. Humphry does not mention this work. It was at Colby in 1944: where is it now?

Although the Brief Preface and descriptive passages are inadequate, *The Library of Edwin Arlington Robinson: A Descriptive Catalogue* does fulfill its compiler's aim to give students and scholars far away from Waterville "more complete information about [E. A. R.'s] library than has heretofore been available to them," and it tells us what books, once Robinson's, are now at Colby.

William White

The Place of the Library in a University. A Conference Held at Harvard University, 30-31 March, 1949. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Published by the Harvard University Library, 1950. 72 pp. 10¼ x 6¾ inches. $2.00.

This volume, reprinted from the types of the *Harvard Library Bulletin,* Volume III, Numbers 2 and 3 (Spring and Autumn, 1949) and Volume IV, Number 1 (Winter, 1950), makes generally available the addresses delivered in the Lamont Library as part of the celebration of the completion of the building program which had been approved by the President and Fellows of Harvard University ten years ago. Naturally, its focus is Harvard, Harvard's library problems, and Harvard's solution of those problems for the time being. Actually it is more than this; what Harvard faces now with over five million volumes occupying over eleven million cubic feet of space and with an annual library expenditure for upkeep which represents the interest on forty million dollars is just an aggravation, big or little, of what college, university, and research libraries all over the country must face sooner or later. One address, regrettably, is missing. It is that of Professor John Huston Finley, Jr., on *The Library and the Undergraduate,* which was delivered informally and was not prepared for publication.

The author of this review is a mere professor, a student and a user of books, not a librarian; a teacher interested in the utility and the pleasure others find in books, not the curator of a collection. Nevertheless, he brings to these addresses a respectful ear and a sympathetic heart. However, as he comprehends the dilemma, he is reminded of Canute and of Mrs. Partington; with the best of intentions, the strongest of wills, and the most ideal facilities, the university library assumes a Herculean burden.

Consider what is expected of it. It must serve a double function as an educational and a scholarly tool. It must supply the instruments of study to the mature and immature alike, the indispensable materials both faculty and students need for courses. But in either a modest or a lavish manner it must also supply the instruments of scholarship. In the words of President Emeritus Ernest Hatch Wilkins of Oberlin, one of the speakers at this symposium:

> The university library, more than any other institution whatsoever, is the custodian of the world's actual knowledge and the reservoir of its potential knowledge. More than any other institution it preserves and makes available the results of previ-

ous human seeking; more than any other institution it makes possible the fruitful continuation of that search.

But, even more important still, the university library provides the means by which men may become accustomed to charging their intellectual and spiritual batteries, finding inspiration, and reading for recreation and pleasure.

All these aspects of the function of the university library are recognized in the addresses which make up this volume. But how can an institution thus be all things to all men? Harvard has found its answer for the time being in a functional multiplicity of libraries. Widener is still its general research center; the new Houghton Library is its depository of rare books, manuscripts, treasures, and special research materials; and the even newer Lamont Library removes Harvard's 5,000 undergraduates from under foot. All books here are on open shelves, its 80,000 volumes are carefully selected to meet various undergraduate needs—utilitarian and cultural—and there are 1,100 seats for readers. In addition there are various departmental libraries. But the Harvard College Library is no longer an entity; it is again scattered all over the Yard.

Such a solution, however, is completely unrealizable for most American universities, for, as Mr. Donald Coney of the University of California points out:

> Lamont Library on the Berkeley, or Minnesota, or Illinois, or Michigan, or Texas, or Wisconsin campus would have to be large enough to accommodate three, four, or five times as many readers, if equal facilities were to be provided. A crude cost estimate of Lamont's five undergraduate levels suggests that this space runs to something like $1,300,000. Thus, the cost of construction alone, on a large state university campus, would be of the order of three to five times as much, i.e., from four to six and one-half million dollars. In addition to the building, a book collection and its catalogue are required. Lamont's 80,000 volumes may easily have cost $240,000; its catalogue, even at an unrealistic minimum of 25 cents per volume, would add another $20,000 to the cost. Perhaps these are books enough for the largest undergraduate enrollment likely. The get-ready cost, therefore, of a Lamont Library for a campus such as Berkeley's (with more than three times Harvard's undergraduates) would be, at a minimum, four and a quarter millions of dollars.

The average university library, alas, will still have to get along and do its work as best it can—as it has always done—under less than ideal conditions.

But it is the problem of growth rather than function that takes one's breath. Unless something can be done, it is the fate of every university

and college library to grow faster than the rest of the institution to which it is attached, and so to cost proportionately more from year to year, and require more and more space. The cost of keeping books in a library is greater than the original cost of the books themselves. Other departmental budgets may be fixed; that of the library grows ever larger. (In fact it usually doesn't, but it should.) Its demands for storage and reading room are ever greater. What is the solution?

The cure is almost worse than the disease. Discard, fractionate, compress, reject. Obviously, not everything in print has a permanent value; discard the superseded, the outmoded, the inapplicable, the unused. The extreme advocates of this policy "conceive of the library as a dynamic circulatory system, a channel through which books pass on their way from the publisher to the incinerator."[1] Science, to be sure, supersedes itself every few years, but that is not true of the humanities, and history, bent upon elucidating the past, takes all things into its province. You never know when something will be needed, or what will be helpful. "As good kill a man as kill a good book." For fear of doing irreparable wrong who will exercise even his best judgment and risk the consequences? The Bodleian once discarded its First Folio. Bulky, perishable materials, like newspapers, can be compressed by being put on microfilm. But the process is costly and inconvenient. Greater care can in future be exercised in the selection of books for accession. But half of a librarian's time now is taken up with the correction of such errors of judgment of his predecessors.

By far the most hopeful of all the suggested solutions is the establishment of coöperative regional deposit libraries, like the New England Deposit Library, to which Harvard contributes, or the Mid-West Library Corporation, or the proposed Northeast Regional Library. To these centers, which might conceivably in future be endowed but to the support of which now member libraries contribute, are sent little used materials, duplicate copies, inappropriate, obsolete, out of fashion, unwanted materials, which can be supplied on call by means of inter-library loan. Member libraries are already participating in coöperative buying in the highly publicized Farmington Plan for the acquisition of foreign materials. The plan can and will be extended to other material as well. Here, whatever else one may think of it, is socialization of library holdings. To segregate little used materials for deposit, however, must require a judgment no

[1] Garrett Hardin, "The Doctrine of Sufferance in the Library," in: *College and Research Libraries*, VIII: 122 (1947).

less discriminating than that required for discarding. The only difference is that a deposited book has not been destroyed. But unless some effort is made to multiply the catalogues of deposit libraries, and unless there is considerable improvement in inter-library loan, segregated materials are going to be discouragingly difficult to find out about or to obtain when they are needed. There is no sense in buying, cataloguing, and storing books unless they are made readily accessible.

One omission from these addresses seems regrettable, and that is any consideration of the place of the university library in encouraging the development of individual personal libraries among students. Surely this is a responsibility in which the library has a share, if only from the point of view of self-interest. There is no better illustration of the Parable of the Talents than the special collections in our university libraries today. What of the future?

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